

A SHORT HISTORY OF IRELAND.

J. E. HERBERT.



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A SHORT HISTORY OF IRELAND.



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SHORT HISTORY OF IRELAND

FROM

The Earliest Periods to the Year 1798.

BY

JANE EMILY HERBERT,

*Author of "Poetical Recollections of Irish History;" "The Bride of Imael;
or, Irish Love and Saxon Beauty, in the time of Richard II.;"
"Ione's Dream, and other Poems."*

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P R E F A C E .

“**S**TUDY Irish History.” Such was the advice given, not long since, by an eminent statesman to a young man whom he wished to qualify for public life. We do not think, indeed, that the statesman’s own knowledge of the subject was either very accurate or very extensive, or he could scarcely have fallen into the mistakes, both of statement and administration, which have marked his proceedings with regard to this country. But still the advice was good ; and for anyone who really wishes to have correct views either upon the religious or political state of Ireland, or its relations with England, as influenced by the past, a knowledge of its history is indispensable.

25 Feb 21 Shorten

We cannot say that in itself, and taken as a whole, it is a very attractive field of study. Deeds of war and rapine form too large a portion of

Ireland's history to render it inviting; but still there is a dash of chivalry and bravery which redeems its darkest pages; and there are, in the more distant past, records of learning and piety which may well call forth the admiration of all who read them. In the following pages the author has, for the most part, restricted herself to statements of facts, and has generally left her readers to draw conclusions for themselves. Perhaps, amidst the strong party and political feelings which prevail, this was the most judicious course to pursue; and however some readers may dissent from the few expressions of opinion to which the author has given utterance, it will be acknowledged that, on the whole, a faithful recital of the chief events in Irish history has been laid before the reader, and that much pains and considerable research have been expended on the subject by the writer.

No true Irishman can rise from the study of such a chequered history as that of his native land without a very mingled feeling of pride and sorrow. It has had its ages of real glory and excellence, and it has had too its ages of decadence and of shame. How much of the latter

was due to misfortune, and not to fault, it were difficult to say ; but the aim of every true patriot should be, instead of dwelling in useless lamentation upon the errors of the past, or in self-laudatory admiration upon its glories, to use his best endeavours to make the present what it ought to be, in the exercise of honesty, piety, and truth, and thus to influence the future, as alone it can be influenced, for his country's good

If the study of the past may awaken us, either to imitate what has been excellent, or to avoid what has been disastrous, we shall not have studied in vain. And one chief lesson which, above all others, stands out upon the page of Irish history is this, that it is "righteousness which exalteth a nation," and that it is "sin which is a reproach to any people." So long as Ireland was "famous for the Word of God," both as regards its study and its practice, so long she shone as a beacon-light amongst the nations ; but when the truth and authority of that Word became darkened or diminished, she sank into obscurity and dishonour. We confess ourselves hopeless as to any political nostrums,

which leave this one great element of moral greatness and national elevation out of account. Not till Ireland returns to that which made her good, is there the smallest hope that she will arrive at that which can make her great.

W. P. O.

HISTORY OF IRELAND.

CHAPTER I.

FROM 400 A.D. TO 600 A.D.

THE INTRODUCTION AND FIRST AGES OF CHRISTIANITY IN IRELAND.

CHRISTIANITY was introduced into Ireland as early as, and some authors say prior to, the fourth century, by the disciples of St. John, who preached to the churches in Asia. The missionaries of the fourth century not only preached and made converts, but founded colleges and built churches. Amongst these was Dima, whose name a church near Adare, in the county of Limerick, still bears. Ussher tells us that Iberus soon after preached the Gospel, and built and founded an academy, in Leinster, where "he instructed very great numbers of Irish, as well as foreigners, in sacred and polite letters." St. Albe and St. Kiern also preceded Patrick in Ireland. We have good evidence of the flourishing state of Christianity in Munster before that period in the fact that, although Patrick landed in

Ireland in 432, he did not go to that province until 448, when he found many churches and monasteries built, and schools and colleges founded, amongst which were the abbeys of Inis-Catha and Inis-Lua (both islands in the Shannon). The ceremonies of the ancient Irish Church were very simple, and the order of *aillers* (which resembled the present Scotch Church) existed in Ireland before the preaching of Patrick.

The early years of the patron saint of Ireland were cast in troublous times. Niall the Great, King of Ireland, ravished the coast of Wales, and, taking Patrick prisoner, amongst many others, sold him as a slave to a pagan prince in the north of Ireland, from whence he escaped to the shores of Britain, after seven years of captivity. Some time later, he went to Europe, to study Christianity, and returned to Ireland in 432 full of learning and the knowledge of Christ. It is said that St. Patrick was appointed Bishop in Ireland by Rome; but we have the best authority extant to prove that Rome had no influence over the Church of Ireland prior to the beginning of the twelfth century. When Laogaire, son of Niall the Great, was King of Ireland, Pope Celestine sent Palladius to that country, with twelve missionaries. The Irish, who had ever been the bitter enemies of Rome as a nation, were unwilling to acknowledge their spiritual supremacy. Patrick's great knowledge, meekness, and acquaintance with the language of the people, rendered his mission very fruitful. He converted

nearly the whole island, built numerous churches, monasteries, and schools, and founded various colleges, from which apostles emanated over Europe, and preached the pure Gospel, and differed from the Church at Rome in the celebration of Easter and some matters of ceremony. During the time of this great revolution in Ireland, from the Druidical worship to Christianity, the annalists seem to have been so occupied with ecclesiastical history that there is little mention made of affairs of civil import. After a reign of thirty years, Laogaire was killed by lightning, after having professed the Christian faith. He was succeeded by Oilíoll Molt, who was celebrated for his national assemblies, where he, being a Christian prince, at one of those meetings ordained that the Christian bishops should in future occupy the place of Druids, which raised them next in rank to the kings. The ancient Irish were well skilled in music. The remnants of it still in use are full of sweetness and melody ; and the composers of harp music were reputed the best of their age.

CHAPTER II.

FROM 865 TO 900.

THE DANISH INVASION UNDER TURGESIUS—HIS CAPTURE AND DEATH.

IN 851 Niall III., being Emperor of Ireland, determined to banish the Danes, who had infested the coasts for a long time, ruining every sort of building. In 849 Turgesius, son of Harold Harfuge, at the head of a numerous troop of Danes, landed in the north of Ireland. One fleet of his ships entered the Boyne, and landed near Drogheda; the other in Dublin. Munster suffered unheard-of distraction. Ireland, as usual, was divided in itself. Malachy, King of Munster, had carried off Gormflatha, daughter of Niall III., and they were at war. Therefore the Danes found an easy prey, which Turgesius availed himself of by scouring the country from north to south, burning down monasteries, churches, and every building worthy of his fury. Priests, chiefs, and laymen alike suffered by fire and sword. They built castles and light barks for sailing on the Shannon; they set fire to the sumptuous churches and colleges in Armagh; built ships which they put on Lough Neagh and Lough Erne, destroying everything in their reach. The monarch Niall, who was a brave and clever prince, endeavoured to put an end to this scene of slaughter, so general and so unexpected,

that a remedy was almost beyond his reach. He engaged the Danes in two spirited battles, routed them with considerable slaughter, and, pursuing them into Leinster, was unfortunately drowned in the river Callain (whilst attempting to rescue one of his followers who, according to his orders, had attempted to ford that river), to the unspeakable loss of his country.

In 879 Malachy was elected monarch. He attacked and defeated a huge body of Danes in Meath, who retreated, leaving 700 of their troops dead on the field of battle. He soon after defeated them at Glasglean, or the Glen of the Downs, when 1700 of them, with Sascolf, one of their chief commanders, were slaughtered. But those successes were not sufficient to put down a power which had inexhaustible supplies of troops flowing in from France and England. Turgesius soon took the lead of the Irish, and vanquished them in every quarter. The cattle, corn, and provision were usurped by the marauders, and the Irish whom they had conquered eat their refuse. Churches and monasteries were filled with their soldiers, and the Christian prelates were obliged to fly to the woods and fastnesses for shelter, many of whom died of cold and hunger. This oppression continued until within a short time of Malachy's death. The king was, notwithstanding his passive submission so long, a man of abilities, genius, and courage. Neither the love of country nor fame was his predominating passion, though the unbounded cruelties of the

Danish invaders had convinced him that the vengeance of an outraged people must be satisfied sooner or later.

Turgesius having seen the lovely Meliha, daughter of the king, sent his officers to demand her as his wife, and the father blazed forth in passion—he who had been a passive king—at the insult offered to his family, wept the wretchedness of his country, and sought a remedy for its evils. In order to gain time, he requested the Dane a few days to prepare his daughter for the sacrifice. The king then retired to brood over his plans. With great secrecy he procured fifteen beardless young men, dressed them in female attire, and directed them to accompany the princess to the palace of the Dane. At the same time he collected the chiefs, informed them of his plans, and, with the utmost secrecy, sent from prince to prince and chief to chief throughout the country, beseeching them to fall on the perfidious Danes on a day fixed, and simultaneously extirpate them.

During this time the Danish chief was only making preparations for a great feast, to which he invited his principal friends, to celebrate the arrival of the princess with great splendour. The young men who accompanied the daughter of Malachy had orders, on the tyrant's approach towards the princess, to seize, but not to kill him. Each had a dirk under his robes, in case of opposition. Malachy was to be in readiness, and on a given sign he and his followers were to burst in and put the garrison

to the sword. All of which was executed with as much exactness as it was planned. Turgesius once in his power, Malachy routed the Danes in all quarters, insomuch that they were all either massacred or escaped in ships. The clergy, once more at liberty, came forth from their hiding-places; churches and colleges were again built; and the senachies or bards chanted the exploits and fame of Malachy throughout the country. He convened an assembly, and, that no private animosities should interfere with the affairs of State, took much pains to reconcile the discontented chiefs. It was decreed that Turgesius should be bound hand and foot, and drowned in Lough Annin in Westmeath; which was done in the most public manner, in the presence of thousands of spectators. After this an Act was passed giving liberty to the Danes to live in maritime cities, and continue their commerce and manufactures. Thus was internal peace restored by a sudden and successful revolution. Malachy soon after died, and was buried with great pomp in the Abbey of Clann-Mac-Nois. He was succeeded by his son Flan, who commenced his reign by an invasion of Munster, whose king was Ceanfola, Abbot of Emly, over whom he gained a complete victory, which so much elated him that he said he would enter hostilely into any kingdom in Ireland with as much pleasure as if on a tour. Mac Lonan, the chief bard, answered that if he entered the Dalgais' territory, and offered them an insult, he would find the difference; on which he was so angry that he

ordered his camp to be struck, and entered Thomond. Lom, or Lorcan, king of that territory, inflamed at his invasion of the south, was in readiness to receive him. Flan crossed the Shannon, pitched his tents, and the chess-table being brought, sat down to play. Lorcan was enraged at this mark of contempt, and scarcely had Flan seated himself at the chess-board, when it was overturned by the Dalgais. A battle commenced which lasted three days, at the end of which time the monarch was obliged to send Mac Lonan to Lorcan, for a conduct for himself and his followers, which was immediately granted. This battle, its causes, and consequences, are a good specimen of all the various turmoils in Ireland, and the natural disposition of the people to broils and discontent.

CHAPTER III.

FROM 950 TO 1014.

THE WARS WITH THE DANES—BATTLE OF CLONTARF—
BRIAN BOROIMHE'S DEATH.

IN 954 Mahon, a prince of great bravery, ascended the throne of Munster. The Danes, by their admission into Ireland as merchants, had been increasing in numbers; and carrying in arms amongst their merchandise, at length, having many strongholds, they broke out and committed depredations, and

made many dreadful incursions. Mahon and his brother carried on a continual warfare against them, watching every opportunity to cut off their forces ; which so annoyed the Danes that they determined to unite and crush for ever this disturber of their triumphs. For this purpose an army of three thousand men was raised, headed by Muiris, a Danish commander. Mahon's troops hovered round them until, at a pass called Sulchoid, he attacked them with such spirit and impetuosity that they were soon thrown into confusion, and notwithstanding all the endeavours of their chiefs to rally the troops, fled to Limerick. Two thousand were left dead on the field, with their principal officers. The brave Dalcassian troops (descendants of the bravest Irish princes) pursued them into the town. This victory having greatly added to Mahon's power, he determined to take revenge on the princes of the west, who did not acknowledge him as king. So, arming a select number of his brave Dalgais, he embarked in some flat-bottomed boats on the Shannon, and sailed round the coast of Connaught, levying taxes here and there as he went along, until arrived at Lough Ribh, when he landed and went into the interior of the country. Prince Feargal watched his movements until at the mouth of a river that runs into that lake, when he suddenly attacked him. But the brave Dalcassians were as calm as though they had not been surprised, and soon put their enemies to a shameful flight. Feargal plunged into the river, and in his confusion threw away his shield,

which Mahon carried back to Munster, and used in all succeeding battles. It was carefully preserved by the posterity of this prince. It was considered the greatest dishonour to lose a shield ; and how much greater therefore to throw it away. There was a poem written in commemoration of this victory, and preserved in the Book of Munster. The Lagonians, who had long governed Munster, held Mahon in the greatest abhorrence ; but he met their forces in battle and completely routed them. Finding that force would not succeed, they determined to overthrow him by treachery. Their chief, Malmordha, sent to invite him to come to the house of a mutual friend, a chief, O'Donovan, in order to settle their differences, which he trustingly agreed to. Accordingly, on the appointed day, he repaired to the place of meeting, with only twelve nobles in his train ; in the meantime, Malmordha had agreed to have his people in readiness, and seize Mahon, which base design he put into execution, and carried him to a deep pass in the mountain called Leaghtmaganna, or Mahon's grave, and murdered him, which left a stain on the Lagonians' memory, rarely paralleled in Irish history. Although he succeeded to the crown of Munster, Brian, brother of Mahon, became King of Thomond in 963, in the thirty-ninth year of his age. O'Donovan, who had assisted in the death of Mahon, knew Brian too well not to fear his anger ; so he took into his pay, besides his own followers, fifteen hundred armed Danes.

In the commencement of the next year, Brian, as he had expected, entered his territories with a large army, and so totally overthrew them that not only O'Donovan and the chiefs, but every one of his army, both Tanists and Danes, were slain on the field of battle. Brian then sent a herald declaring war against Malmordha, and notifying his intention of invading his dominions in the ensuing spring, which was the honourable custom of the old Irish nation. Accordingly, a dreadful battle was fought in 967, and Morrogh, son of Brian, although but thirteen years old, fought hand to hand with the murderer of his uncle, and slew him. Brian was soon after crowned at Cashel, when he determined to dispossess the Danes, who had taken possession of all the islands in the Shannon, from Limerick to the sea, and had monopolized all the commerce of the surrounding country; so accordingly, he set out with an army of twelve hundred brave Dalgais, and, embarking above Limerick, possessed himself of the city, and, proceeding down the river, drove the Danes from the islands, and rebuilt the churches which they had destroyed. He then convened an assembly at Cashel, and passed many useful laws, restored all those lands rescued from the Danes to which a title could be proved, and sold the remainder. The laws of Ireland did not acknowledge hereditary claims: the kings were to be chosen from the royal line by the people, so also the chiefs; but we see that the next kin of the deceased monarch or chief was generally upheld by the people, and in

most instances succeeded to the throne, so that the country in general acknowledged a right which the laws did not. The army of Munster consisted at this time of thirty thousand men, five thousand of whom were cavalry. To avoid all contentions amongst the chiefs, he revived the ancient laws of Colvas; and so peaceable had the country become at this period, that it is said a lady of great beauty walked from one end of the country to the other with a white wand in her hand, and many rings on her fingers, unmolested.

Domnald, supreme monarch of Ireland, retired from the throne of Tara about this time, and was succeeded by Malachy II. Jealous of the rising power of Brian, the monarch, assisted by the King of Leinster, invaded Munster, and carried away captives and spoil. Enraged at this insult, Brian sailed up the Shannon to Lough Rea, and laid the people under the tribute of three hundred gold-handled swords, three hundred cows, three hundred horses, and three hundred purple cloaks. Galled at being obliged to pay this tribute, the prince of Leinster, calling the Danes to his assistance, determined to give battle to Brian's army, in which the latter, as usual, was victorious. After this he fought five battles with the Danes, in which many thousands of the Danes fell. The great magnanimity, bravery, and wisdom of Brian contrasted so strongly with the weakness and passive spirit of the monarch, that the people of Munster, Connaught, and Meath convened a Parliament, and

agreed to raise Brian to the imperial throne. An embassy was therefore sent to Malachy requesting him to resign his royalty. He was at first enraged ; but after some time, when the invincible troops of Brian appeared at Tara, he formally resigned his crown before the assembled princes. After his coronation Brian convened an assembly at Tara, where many excellent laws were enacted, the national history revised, and a decree passed requiring the chiefs to take the name of some of their great ancestors as a surname. So his descendants took the name of O'Brian, or "descended from Brian," and so on.

Under Brian (Boroimhe, or "the raiser of tributes," was another appellation given him) the country soon became peaceable and happy, the cities were rebuilt, and the large revenue accruing to the imperial crown was distributed to the great advantage of the State. He rased the ruinous castle of the Kings of Munster, and built one called to this day the Castle of Boroimhe. The kingdom had remained in this peaceful state for ten years when an incident, very trifling in itself, once more immersed it in turmoil. Among the visitors at the royal castle was Malmordha Mac Morrogh, King of Leinster. Between him and Brian's son, Morrogh, an enmity had long subsisted. Morrogh imputed the victory he had gained over the Leinster troops to Malmordha's cowardly conduct on the occasion. Among the amusements of Ireland chess was included. At this game Morrogh was playing, and

Malmordha, looking on, advised him to a move, which taking, he lost the game. This made Morrogh angry, and he said pointedly to the King of Leinster, "If you had given such good advice at Glen Madhma, your troops would not have been so capitally beaten." At which Malmordha answered angrily, that when next he advised, he hoped to be attended with better success, and, instantly leaving the castle, returned to his dominions, collected the neighbouring princes, and calling in the chiefs of the Danes, agreed that they should send to Norway and Britain for assistance, and make war against Brian for the insult he had met. Hearing of many incursions made by the Leinster troops, Brian collected his vast army and blockaded Dublin. Great preparations were made by the Danes. Fleets daily arrived, and two Danish princes landed at the head of two thousand troops. Those preparations were well known to Brian, who had collected an army of thirty thousand brave and intrepid warriors, headed by five sons, one grandson, fifteen nephews, and all the chiefs of North Munster. The whole tribe of the gallant Dalgais flew to his standard and the defence of their country against foreign invasion.

The day was fixed for a pitched battle on the plain of Clontarf, at the edge of the sea. The Danes were headed by Brodar and Airgisdal, the commander of the entire army being Malmordha, King of Leinster, and Sitric Mac Lodan, a Danish chief. Prince Morrogh, the King of Connaught, Malachy, of Meath, and Prince Sitric, of Ulster,

were in chief command of the imperial army. The venerable King of Ireland, who was advanced in years, rode through the ranks exhorting the soldiers, as they regarded the prosperity of their country, the injuries sustained by their ancestors, and their duty as Christians, to save their country from the heathen and merciless Danes. The battle commenced on Good Friday, the 23rd of April, 1014, at eight o'clock in the morning, and raged furiously the entire day. Morrogh was slain by a prostrate enemy, who plucked his dagger from his side and stabbed him. This prince's right hand, through great exertion, was so swelled as to be unable to hold his sword: he seized his opponent with the other, and shook him out of his coat of mail, prostrated him on the ground, and pierced his body with his sword, leaning his breast on it, in which position he was when he received his mortal wound from the prostrate enemy. At length confusion became general throughout the Danish army, and they fled on every side. Brodar, seeing the position of his followers, hastened to the camp, where the aged monarch was praying for the success of his army, and although he fought gallantly, succeeded in giving the great Brian his death-wound. Sitric, Morrogh's friend, and his son Turlogh, also fell in this great battle, which rid Ireland of the marauding Danes for a time.

CHAPTER IV.

FROM 1014 TO 1154.

ALTHOUGH the tenth century has been called a dark age, many of our best poets and historiographers lived at that period. St. Cormac wrote the first History of Ireland, called the *Psalter of Cashel*. He also published a Glossary, which was reprinted in 1600. Protus wrote, in Latin, a life of St. Patrick. In this age also lived Ilan, a great chronographer, and an unknown author, who wrote a continuation to the *Psalter of Cashel*. Soon after the death of Brian, Malachy, the deposed monarch, took possession of the crown, and, under his weak government, the Danes again landed, took possession of the city of Dublin, and became very numerous. On his death in 1022, the remaining son of Brian (Donogh), and Turlogh, the son of Tiege, son of Brian, who had also died on the field of battle, claimed the imperial throne, and after long contentions we see Turlogh styled monarch of Ireland in 1072. His reign is noted for its piety, bravery, and moderation. He subjected the Danes, and succeeded in restoring Ireland to a great deal of its former peace and prosperity. He died, universally regretted, in the seventy-seventh year of his age.

In 1086 Turlogh's son, Mortogh, was proclaimed king. Mortogh, unlike his father, seemed to have

no pleasure but in war. Five different times he invaded Meath and other territories, wasting and ravaging all before him. The clergy had made intercession at times, when he, relenting, made promises but to be broken. In 1099 he invaded Ulster with a mighty army, and was met on a plain, in the County of Down, by Dhomnal, prince of Tyrconnell, a brave and virtuous prince. The armies were placed ready for the word to begin the battle, when the Archbishops of Armagh and Cashel threw themselves between them, and succeeded in establishing a lasting peace, after which they lived in great friendship, and Mortogh became esteemed for his prudence and bravery.

In 1101 there was a Convention at Cashel, in which Morrogh decided that Cashel should be for ever dedicated to God, and its revenues affixed to the diocese of Cashel. He retired to a convent in 1116, and, dying the 3rd of March, 1119, was buried at Killaloe.

Many famous poets lived in the eleventh century, amongst whom are Mac Liag, author of the *Anala*, containing the History of Brian Boromhe (or Boru); Dubdaleth, Archbishop of Armagh, who wrote *The Annals of Ireland*; Marianus Scotus, who wrote *The Chronicle of Chronicles*; and O'Malchomy, a poet and antiquarian. After the death of Mortogh, Turlogh O'Connor, son of the King of Connaught, being a descendant of the kings of Ireland, was created monarch. O'Connor, nephew of Mortogh, said to have been a brave prince, was then

King of Munster. He considered himself entitled to the crown, and waged constant war with Turlogh, who, after many battles, succeeded in establishing his claim to the crown.

In 1126 a great Convention was held at Tara for the first time in a century. At this meeting many games were exhibited on days which were set apart for amusement. In 1133 Connor again commenced the war against the monarch, and, after many battles, succeeded in taking the crown, and giving Turlogh that of Munster. He has been much praised for his courage and knowledge. He died in 1142, and was interred at Killaloe. He is also famed for his munificence and piety ; is said to have built many sumptuous churches, and also to have sent a great number of knights to assist in the Crusade to the Holy Land. Turlogh O'Connor lived many years after, and, although he caused the country much bloodshed, was esteemed a great prince. After his death, an opposing faction placed Mortogh O'Neill on the throne ; but the brave son of Turlogh, young Roderick O'Connor, defied him, and, after many battles, gained the peaceable possession of the kingdom of Connaught, and half the principality of Meath. Mortogh, though considered to have been a religious man, was of a violent and vindictive temper. Eochaidh, a neighbouring prince, having refused him tribute, he invaded his territories and carried off great booty. The Archbishop of Armagh having interceded, Mortogh swore to keep peace towards that prince, notwithstanding

which oath, in the next year he caused him to be seized, and had his eyes put out, which so enraged a prince who had gone surety for his faith, that he entered the dominions of the monarch, and, with an army of nine thousand veterans, at the battle of Litterhim, totally extirpated the monarch's army, and Mortogh, the king, was found under a heap of his enemies. One of our annalists speaks thus of him : " Thus fell Mortogh, the most intrepid and valiant hero of his day, the ornament of his country, the thunderbolt of war ! He was a victor in every battle, until, breaking a solemn vow, he fell a sacrifice to justice."

On the death of Mortogh, Roderick O'Connor was saluted monarch. He marched through the country receiving homage and tribute from all the kings and chiefs. While he was preparing an army to invade Tyrconnell, a circumstance which afterwards made an era in Irish history occurred. O'Rourke, prince of Breffni (the present counties of Leitrim and Cavan), had been married for some time to Dearbhorgil, daughter of the King of Meath, for whom the King of Leinster also had conceived a violent affection. After they were married, the false wife carried on a correspondence with him (Dermot Mac Morrogh) ; and having watched an opportunity when her husband had gone from home, she sent to Mac Morrogh, desiring him to come and carry her off, which he accordingly did, and she, in her own words, " fled from a husband she detested to a lover she adored." He conveyed his false-

hearted prize to the capital of his dominions. An outrage so new and unheard-of caused a general sensation, and the unhappy husband wrote to the King of Ireland, beseeching his assistance in avenging this grievous wrong. The following is part of his letter in the words of O'Halloran: "O'Rourke to Roderick, the monarch, health. Though I am sensible, most illustrious prince, that human adversities should be always supported with firmness and equanimity, and that a virtuous man ought not to distress or afflict himself on account of the levity and inconsistency of an imprudent female, severity compels me to seek justice, whilst charity admonishes me to forgive the injury. If you only consider the dishonour, that, I confess, is mine alone; if you reflect on the cause, it is common to us both—the outrages of princes so publicly and so notoriously committed, if not arrested, become precedents of previous example to the people. In a word, you are thoroughly convinced of my attachment to you," &c. The remaining part of this letter, which cannot be inserted in this limited history, is, like the portion given, praiseworthy, nay, might afford an example of justice, truth, and charity to the nineteenth century. The monarch immediately held a council, which decreed that Mac Morrogh was unfit to govern, and must be deposed and banished. So horrible did his crime appear, that his favourites and followers deserted him. Unable to stand a siege at Ferns, his capital, he fled to Bristol. Public justice having been thus

rendered to O'Rourke, the monarch set out, with an immense army, to invade Tyrone; and after very little resistance, O'Niall, chief of that province, surrendered, kneeling, and placing his shut hands between those of the king in token of submission. Roderick then dismissed his counsellors, giving them many valuable presents.

In this year also, he held a meeting at Tara, or, some say, Athboy, in Meath (or Ath-Ruic-Flacta—being the site of the famous temple of Flacta, raised by the Druids in honour of the moon). How long the session lasted is not known. Many excellent laws were passed relative to Church and State.

Mac Morrogh, who fled to England, where his crime was not so well known, repaired to King Henry II., and sought his aid. That monarch, however, declined interfering, but allowed him to seek volunteers in England, which he did, offering large rewards to those who would assist him in the recovery of his estates. Not succeeding, however, he applied to Richard, Earl of Pembroke, surnamed Strongbow, a popular and brave Welsh chief, proffered him the reversion of his kingdom, and the hand of his daughter, if he, through the agency of his troops, should restore him to his dominions, which tempting offer was gladly accepted by the chief, and a treaty entered into. Thus Dermot Mac Morrogh willed away his country of Leinster, in direct opposition to the laws of his country, which prescribes the succession to native inheritors. He then, according to his advice, sought Robert

Fitzstephen and Maurice Fitzgerald, and offered them the town of Wexford and the adjoining lands, if they would assist in his restoration.

CHAPTER V.

FROM 1154 TO 1199.

HENRY II.—RICHARD I.

MAC MORROGH, still in great fear, landed and made the most debasing submission to the monarch; told him that he was sorry for his crime—that the unhappy cause of all the disturbance had retired to a convent. He was favourably heard, and allowed nearly all the present county of Wexford, on his paying O'Rourke a hundred ounces of pure gold, and delivering up seven hostages to the monarch. Having thus lulled suspicion, he sent to his new friends, reminding them of their promises, and telling them to come in the ensuing spring, when he would be ready to receive them with open arms.

On the 11th of May, 1169, he received news that thirty knights, sixty squires, and two hundred archers had landed at Wexford, headed by Fitzstephen, Fitzgerald, and others, and immediately sent five hundred horse to join them. He followed himself with his infantry. The adventurers determined to attack Wexford, being a seaport, and a town of considerable size. The garrison, deeming

Dermod of little consequence, waited some distance from the town to give him battle ; but on seeing advancing a body of well-disciplined cavalry, with prancing steeds and shining armour, they retreated within their walls, and soon, with undaunted courage, repulsed them, filling the ditches with knights who had rashly attempted to scale the walls. Fitzstephen, fearing his men would desert him after this overthrow of his arms, set fire to their ships, to show his followers they could not escape. For three days they assaulted the garrison with like success. At length the city submitted by treaty. Prendergast, a knight, and nearly half of the Welsh adventurers, forsook Mac Morrogh soon after ; yet he succeeded, through much perseverance and bloodshed, in regaining the dominions of his fathers. Roderick, the monarch, began to be seriously alarmed at his power, for his son-in-law became at this period King of Thomond and Munster. So in a council it was decided to send to Fitzstephen and his confederates, demanding their authority for invading his dominions, and exhibiting banners ; at the same time offering them ships to convey them to their own country. But they, being adventurers, with desperate fortunes, had but one answer to give—they must do or die. The monarch, on receiving this answer, at the head of twenty thousand men, set out and drove Mac Morrogh and his allies from fastness to fastness, until they were totally at his mercy, when the clergy interposed, their lives were saved, and the credulous monarch, again

duped by the faithless Morrogh, retired to his own dominions.

The season was fast closing, and Dermot sent pressing letters to Strongbow, beseeching him to lose no time in coming to his assistance. That earl, knowing that Henry was displeased with the first adventurers for not having consulted him, sought to gain his permission to aid the King of Leinster, which Henry refused, whereupon Strongbow first sent Raymond Le Gros, and a thousand archers to Ireland (who landed at Waterford, and rebuilt a ruin into a fortress, then sallied out to seek provisions, which they did by driving the cattle of the neighbourhood to their castle. Some peasants, who sought to save their little property, were inhumanly thrown into the sea), and, following himself, landed at Waterford on the 23rd of August, with two hundred archers, two hundred knights, and a large number of foot-soldiers. They immediately attacked the town, and, after two days' resistance, succeeded in entering within its walls, and committing much slaughter on the unfortunate inhabitants. The cruel Mac Morrogh immediately sent for his daughter, Asfe, or Eva, and had her married to Strongbow. Determined to carry out his victory, he set out over the mountains of Glendalough for Dublin, evading the imperial army, and encamped beside the city. He then sent a deputation to the Governor calling on him to surrender, whilst Miles Colgan, and others of the adventurers were scrutinizing the walls, looking for the most

available point of attack. Before a treaty could be concluded, they had forcibly entered the city, which soon presented the most frightful scenes of devastation, bloodshed, and villainy, all too horrible to particularize. Colgan was on the spot appointed Governor of the city. Roderick sent a message to Dermot commanding immediate submission, which he only answered by having the messenger's head cut off. As an instance of the simplicity of the clergy, they assembled to consider the reason of this dreadful war, and, deciding that it was sent by Heaven on account of their allowing the unholy practice of the traffic in slaves, then carried on to some extent, sent to the king to seek the abolition of it.

Henry of England, hearing of Mac Morrogh's usurpation of the kingdom of Ireland, and that Strongbow had been proclaimed heir to the kingdom of Leinster, was exceedingly angry, foreseeing great danger to his own dominions in the power acquired by the Welsh adventurers, and had therefore the following proclamation issued:—"Henry, King of England, &c., &c. We forbid and inhibit that from henceforth no ship from any place in our dominions shall traffic or pass into Ireland, and likewise charge that all our subjects, on their duty and allegiance, which are there dwelling, shall return from thence into England before Easter next following, upon pain of forfeiture of all their lands, and exile for ever."

This caused Strongbow much trouble, and Der-

mod also dying at this time left him and his friends in an awkward situation; whereupon, having no alternative, he wrote to Henry to say that all he had won was for him whose servant he was for ever.

Just at this time Roderick O'Connor, once more summoning all his friends and allies, determined to make a desperate struggle to rid his country of those marauders. He sent his ships to guard the port of Dublin, so that they might receive no foreign aid, as the enemies of Roderick were all assembled in the city; and he thus determined, by blockading it, to make a last desperate attempt to free himself. He invested it in form; and the Strongbowians, thus deprived of provisions, determined to surrender all their castles to Roderick. But that monarch would not grant them any terms, without their immediately embarking for England; on hearing this, they, knowing themselves outlawed in England, and having no resource, sallied out and attacked the enemy in a body, headed by Strongbow. Before daylight the careless outposts were mastered, and the camp entered, where all was soon confusion. Believing that the besieged had received succour from Britain, the Irish were stupified with terror. Roderick, who was preparing for a bath, it is said, escaped half-dressed. The other princes, following his example, broke up their camps, and retired to their respective countries, whilst the victorious Britons returned to their city laden with spoil. From that day, Roderick had lost the confidence of the nation.

Henry II. heard with astonishment of Strong-

bow's success, and, blaming himself for his rashness, sent for him to England, received him with favour, reinstated him in his possessions, and loaded him with kindness. They talked over the affairs of Ireland, and Henry determined to invade it himself. He was to receive all the towns from Strongbow and, in return, secure him in all his other estates. The whole summer was passed by the king in making preparations for this excursion, and in all that time, no exertion was made on the part of the Irish to oppose him. It would seem that the Kings of Thomond and Munster had secretly encouraged him, for they received him on his landing, and rendered homage. The king entered the Bay at Waterford, October 13th, 1172; his troops consisted of four hundred knights, and four thousand men-at-arms. On his landing, Strongbow presented him with the keys of the city. The next day Dermot M'Carthy presented the keys of his city of Cork. After a few days, Henry marched to Lismore, and then to Cashel, where he was met by Donald O'Brian, King of Thomond, who gave him the keys of his city of Limerick, and acknowledged him monarch of Ireland. His example was soon followed by many other princes. On his arrival at Cashel, Henry produced the Bull of Pope Adrian IV., confirmed by his successor, Alexander III., conferring on him the kingdom of Ireland. He proceeded through the country in slow and solemn marches, striking terror and consternation into the hearts of the inhabitants, who had never before

seen the like pageantry. We are told, insomuch were they pleased, that nearly every prince at once acknowledged him king.

The Synod of Cashel, called by Henry, was grand in the extreme. There were many bishops present, who agreed in passing an Act for the reform of the Church, or rather the exact conformity of it to that of England and Rome, pretending such to be a great blessing conferred, no part of which reformation was necessary in a Church famed all over Europe for its purity and spirituality. It has been asserted without foundation that Henry forced the Irish to abide by English laws, which he did not. He remained about six months with his chiefs, when he left Ireland without having gained any great benefit by his visit. The Irish, for many centuries, continued to be governed by the feudal laws of Ireland. Every chief judged his retainers, and every three years a meeting was held at Tara to regulate the State affairs.

Soon after Henry's departure, the Irish chiefs commenced fresh hostilities, notwithstanding all their protestations. Hugh de Lacy, one of the English adventurers, who had received the Lordship of Meath from Henry, began to build many forts for the protection of his newly acquired property. He and the prince of Breffni having some quarrel, the latter was killed, which circumstance gained him the ill-will of all the native chiefs. At this period Henry was in the midst of troubles foreign and domestic; his army had nearly all

deserted to his refractory sons. Strongbow was the first to fly to his assistance. The Irish chiefs once more threw off the mask, and, with Roderick O'Connor at their head, appeared everywhere in arms.

Henry once more sent Strongbow back, giving to him the city of Waterford for his services. He found the army in confusion. Henry of Montmorris, his uncle, was hated by the troops, who demanded the brave Raymond Le Gros to be their commander, which request he was obliged to grant. Raymond, having become renowned for many victories, demanded of Strongbow the hand of his sister in marriage, which he, jealous of Raymond's popularity, refused; the latter, disgusted at such ingratitude, immediately left him. Strongbow, hearing that Donald O'Brian intended warfare, sent a message to Dublin for the Danes to come to his assistance. Donald heard it, and, intercepting them, cut them off nearly to a man, which ill-fortune Strongbow heard of with much grief. He felt discomfited as a routed leader flying from the foe; looking round him, he saw no way of escaping his troubles but by seeking the aid of Raymond, and offered to grant him all his demands, which he did, and felt almost as happy on greeting him as he who hastened back to the voice of love and glory. With nearly five hundred followers, Raymond arrived at Waterford. On their leaving the town on an incursion, the inhabitants rose and murdered a vast number of English who were in the city.

The next day the sister of Strongbow arrived at Waterford with a splendid train, and the fair Basalia was married to the brave and virtuous Raymond Le Gros, who was made standard-bearer of Leinster. No sooner was the ceremony over, than news was received that Roderick O'Connor was at hand, and the bridegroom was obliged to equip and go forth to battle. Soon after the entire army set out for Limerick, on reaching which, they found the bridges broken down, and all access denied by the rapidity of the river. Two knights plunged into it; but while encouraging the men, one was drowned. Then Meyler Fitz Henry, nephew to Le Gros, being a very young man, spurred his horse into the water and gallantly reached the opposite bank, when he was followed by Le Gros and his men; the garrison relinquished the place, and Fitz Henry was left in charge of the town. Roderick, seeing himself abandoned by his princes, entered into a treaty with Henry, agreeing to pay tribute of all his possessions. Le Gros and his army fought many battles, and so brave and generous was he thought, that there are many instances recorded of Irish chiefs calling in his assistance. In the height of his glory and conquest, he had private information from his wife of Strongbow's death. Raymond hastened to Dublin, where he attended the burial of the earl.

After many years of warfare, by which England gained little, and the Welsh adventurers, of whom I have only named a few, had amassed considerable property, Henry died. Some time before this the

sons of Roderick had obliged him by their cruel conduct to seek an asylum in a convent. Richard I. (surnamed *Cœur de Lion*) succeeded Henry on the throne of England. He confirmed his father's grant of Ireland to his brother John, and appointed Hugh de Lacy as viceroy. Cathal O'Connor, son of the king, was now looked up to by his countrymen as their only hope. He raised a large army, and marched towards Ulster. De Courcy, chief of Ulster, alarmed for his province, sent to Sir Armoric St. Laurance begging of him to come to his assistance, which he did unfortunately, for, on marching into a valley, he and his followers were surrounded by thousands of Cathal's people, who had been awaiting them in ambush. To a great mind, flight is worse than death. Sir Armoric on the instant sprang from his horse, and, running his sword through him, showed a glorious example to his followers by thus depriving himself of the means of flight. Then sending the two youngest of his knights to a neighbouring height to see and report the sanguinary battle to De Courcy, they commenced the attack, and were every one cut to pieces. Ireland was still in a disturbed state when Richard, after many feats in the Holy Land, died in 1199.

CHAPTER VI.

FROM 1199 TO 1807.

JOHN—HENRY III.—EDWARD I.

IRELAND, so long governed by petty chiefs and princes, did not improve under the jurisdiction of the Welsh adventurers, who claimed the authority of executing laws, levying taxes, and performing all the functions of judges in their own dominions, just as the chiefs had done before. They soon began to adopt the dress and customs of the country. By degrees the counties around Dublin were formed into a sort of English settlement called “the Pale,” whose boundary fluctuated as they made conquests, or were beaten back by the natives.

The first act of John, on ascending the throne, was to place Meyler Fitz Henry as chief Governor of Ireland. At this time the sons of Roderick were in open war, not only with the English, but with each other; having met several defeats, however, Cathal surrendered to King John two parts of Connaught, holding one part, for which he paid taxes. About this time a feud arose between Hugh de Lacy and De Courcy, two great lords of the Pale. The former had followed the example of the latter, in living as a native prince, and passing laws, &c. De Courcy was outraged, and committed some act of violence by which he lost the king's favour, who desired him to be arrested by his rival

and banished. It is not known what became of him afterwards; but De Lacy received a grant of his estates and the lordship of Ulster.

In 1210 John landed in Ireland, when numbers of the chiefs flocked to his standard, delighted at his appearing amongst them, and hoping his interference to punish the outrageous practices of the great lords of the Pale. Amongst those was William De Braose, to whom John had made grants of land in the south of Ireland. Conscious of his bad actions, he fled on the appearance of the king, leaving his wife and children at the mercy of John, who had them carried to Windsor, where they are said to have been starved to death. The De Greys also fled to France, but were restored to favour on paying a heavy fine. The people of Dublin, who were chiefly settlers from Bristol, were in the habit of going, on the Monday in Easter week, out to a place still called Cullenswood for recreation. When they assembled there as usual on this year, they were inhumanly fallen on by some of the mountain sects of Wicklow, and three hundred of them massacred. In commemoration of that day, the people of Dublin for a long period made Easter Monday a day of feasting on the spot where the tragedy occurred. "After some time," says Leland, "the singing boys of the cathedral were deputed, and to this day they are regaled at Cullenswood."

John passed many useful Acts, divided the parts of the country under his dominion into shires, ordered the English to be judged by her laws, and

circulated the first coin current in Ireland. Two great barons from Ireland were present when John granted the Charter at Runnymede—Henry De Londres, who, it is said, gained his property by calling the people together, and, pretending to examine into their rights, flung the whole of their leases or writings into the fire, for which he was nick-named “scorch villain,” and William, Earl Marshal, the founder of Tintern Abbey in the County of Wexford. On the death of King John—1216—this great earl became Protector of the English realm, during the minority of Henry III., then but ten years old. He had amassed vast possessions in England and Ireland by his marriage with Isabella, daughter of Strongbow.

In the early part of Henry's reign there were factious disturbances amongst the great lords of the Pale. At this time, that part of Connaught assigned to Cathal by King John, was nevertheless granted to De Burgh, a factious English lord, to be taken after Cathal's death ; but the people did not allow this breach of faith. On Cathal dying, they rose, assisted by O'Neill, and after many battles succeeded in making Felim O'Connor, his son, chief of that territory. Some time after this, a daring outrage was committed by the lords of the Pale. Richard, Earl Marshal, son to the late Protector of the realm, having outraged the king by combining with Llewellyn and other refractory princes of Wales, had shut himself up in his castle at Pembroke. Henry, wishing to get possession of his

person, sent word into Ireland that if he landed he should be seized and sent to him. To this the Bishop of Winchester, Henry's chief adviser, added that whoever should bring him, dead or alive, should receive his vast possessions in Ireland for ever. Accordingly, Geoffrey De Marisco and the De Greys sent to the young earl, inviting him to take possession of his land in Ireland, and offering him their assistance, which advice he immediately accepted, and on landing was basely murdered and his estates forfeited, by which a great sensation was caused, not only in England, but in Ireland ; wherever he went, he had been considered " the flower of modern chivalry." After this, Henry, being at war with the Welsh princes, sent to Maurice FitzGerald, deputy of Ireland, to come to his assistance, which he did, with Felim O'Connor, titular King of Connaught. But so much time elapsed before their arrival, that the king, displeased, dismissed the deputy, who retired to a monastery.

Could any impetus have been given to the Irish, it might have been done in the brave struggles of the Welsh at this time ; but a sort of cold insensibility seemed to have taken possession of their energies, and from day to day the power of England increased. In 1259 Sir Stephen Longespée, being lord deputy, fought a battle with O'Neill, in which that chief and 350 of his followers were slain. In 1261, William Den being deputy, a general rising of the MacCarthys of Desmond took place, when they slew many distinguished Geraldines, among others,

Lord John FitzThomas, Maurice, his son, and several powerful barons. In fact, during the remainder of this long reign, there were nothing but wars and dissensions. Walter De Burgh had married the heiress of De Lacy, and thus possessed the lordship of Ulster. To such a height had the feuds between him and FitzGerald risen, that, at a meeting held in 1264 at Castle Dermod, Maurice FitzGerald, son of the original adventurer of that name, and his brother, afterwards Earl of Kildare, seized on Richard De Burgh, heir of Ulster, with several of his family, and imprisoned them in Desnamase Castle, formerly the stronghold of the O'Moores. The king, hearing of the growing power of the Geraldines, appointed David Barry (ancestor of the noble family of Barrymon) deputy, who ordered the prisoner's release, and, after some time, succeeded in establishing peace between those rival houses. During the time of Sir James Audley's government, the people, in order to wreak their vengeance on the lords of the Pale, who had used them barbarously, misrepresenting their conduct in England, and depriving them of the right of equal laws, rose simultaneously over the country, burned and slaughtered all before them, despoiled the fortifications in Offaly, killed many noble persons, and did not retire to their retreats until satiated with revenge.

Henry died in 1272, after a reign of little moment to Ireland. And the accession of his successor, Edward I., did little more towards the improvement

of that country. Many outbreaks occurred on both sides during the three succeeding years. In Thomond or Munster large grants had been made to Thomas De Clare, son of the Earl of Gloucester, who, by a succession of base treacheries, contrived to enrich himself. Roe O'Brian and his nephew Turlogh were contending for the kingdom of Connaught. De Clare went to the assistance of the former, who was, with his ally, totally defeated, and his wife's brother, Patrick FitzMaurice, slain; whereupon De Clare insisted that O'Brian was the cause of all their trouble, seized him, and put the unfortunate old man to death, after which De Clare successively joined the son of the murdered man and Turlogh. Such was the state of Munster at this time that the unfortunate natives were actually butchering each other. In 1280 the Irish barons or chiefs sent a petition to the king begging to be judged by the laws of England, for which favour they offered to pay into the king's treasury six thousand marks. They received a favourable answer; but it never was put in effect. The great lords of the Pale had an object in view in thus withholding justice from the natives. The more their conduct was outrageous, the more forfeited lands fell into their hands. So dark and scarcely legible does the history of the kings and chiefs of Ireland become at this period, that there is scarcely a remnant of them to be traced. The lords of the Pale seem to have usurped their place even in history. De Vesey, one of those barons, having

married one of the heiresses of Pembroke, acquired possession of the territory of Kildare. Lord Fitz-Thomas, being titular earl, these rival lords having long quarrelled, De Vesey at length accused his enemy of being a traitor. They were both ordered to appear before the king to be judged. Fitz-Thomas said, "Wherefore, to justify that I am a true subject, and that thou, Vesey, art an arch-traitor to God and my king, I here, in the presence of His Highness, and in the hearing of this honourable assembly, challenge thee to combat." De Vesey, although he accepted the challenge, fled before the day fixed arrived, and his estates were given to FitzThomas.

In 1295, during the administration of Sir John Wogan, a Parliament was assembled for the first time, and many laws passed exceedingly advantageous. The kingdom was divided into counties. All absentees were obliged to contribute to the Irish revenue. No lord was in future to wage war without a license from the deputy. A law was also enacted that all English should still, in dress, &c., adhere to the fashion of their own country. During the years of Sir John Wogan's administration many of the Irish barons repaired to the assistance of the king in Scotland, where the mountain soldiers of Ireland were very useful. During their absence the people of the Wicklow mountains made many incursions, and burned the town of Leighlin and many others. In Louth and Monaghan O'Hanlon and MacMahon endeavoured to rouse the people,

but were both vanquished and slain. After the deputy's return, some years of unwonted tranquillity ensued ; by his example and good government the Geraldines and De Burghs were kept at peace. On the Scots again revolting, Eustace De Poer, and John Cummin, Earl of Ulster, went to the king's aid, after having created thirty knights in the Castle at Dublin before his departure.

In the year 1305 many atrocities were perpetrated, in which English and Irish were alike guilty. The titular King of Munster was murdered in Kildare ; Sir Gilbert Butler was killed at Wexford in the house of a descendant of Le Gros.

In 1306 the O'Dempsys and O'Connors fought a battle in Clare, when the chief of the O'Regans was killed. Soon after the war spread rapidly throughout the kingdom, and at the battle of Glenfell Sir Thomas Mandeville gained the victory, and succeeded in restoring peace, although his horse was shot under him, and his army at first in much confusion. In this year an English knight murdered an Irish chief, for which he was hung—the first instance of an Englishman being punished for any assault on the nation. In the same year the O'Kellys rose and committed many depredations on the English of the Pale, burning their towns, and destroying their property, particularly the mountain clans of Wicklow, who, not only in this reign, but for centuries after, often drove the barons to the very walls of the city, carrying off great booty. It was also in this year that a new coin was struck, and

the value of money limited, which law extended to Ireland as well as England. In this year ended a reign resplendent with glory and high achievements for England, and presenting little for us to remember but turmoil and war in Ireland.

If in the early ages we are struck with the number of schools, colleges, and churches in Ireland, and the great learning, piety, and bravery of her people, truly the contrast in the fourteenth century was appalling—chief against chief—usurper against usurper—churchman against his fellow—each devastating his wretched country for his own special grievance. Schools thrown down, churches and monasteries in ruins, and colleges almost extinct—we can scarcely find a trace of what she was.

The first strong garrison built in defence of the Pale was supposed to be in the reign of Henry III., on a rock called Dunamase (the fortress of the plain). An old castle of the O'Moores' formerly stood there. It bounded the Pale to the west, and was well situated for defence. This castle was built similar to that of Leix on the banks of the Barrow, created some time after by the Baron of Offaly.

In the first year of Edward's reign the natives made an incursion into Roscommon and Sligo, took some castles, and put Maurice FitzGerald, the deputy, in prison. He was succeeded by Lord Walter Grenville, during whose administration the Scots made an incursion into Ireland, and carried off much booty, after committing many depredations.

In return, the Irish, under Sir Eustace De Poer and Richard De Burgh, invaded the highlands and islands of Scotland, spreading waste and devastation before them, and smoking out or burning the inhabitants who dwelt in caves. After this, under the government of Robert Ufferd, the country was in a constant state of warfare. A great battle was fought at Glandelory, in which the English were routed with great slaughter.

CHAPTER VII.

FROM 1307 TO 1377.

EDWARD II.—EDWARD III.

ON the accession of Edward II., his favourite, Gaveston, who had been banished during his father's reign, was sent into Ireland as deputy. His first act was to repress the rebellious chiefs. During his administration he was nearly always on the field of battle. The haughty and powerful De Burgh, Earl of Ulster, saw with great anxiety the increasing power of the deputy, and, to show his power, gave a grand feast in his castle of Trim, when, during the magnificent festivities, he knighted two members of the family of De Lacy. Gaveston built several castles and bridges, but was soon recalled, and Sir John Wogan again came over as deputy. In 1311 Richard, Earl of Ulster, went

into Thomond with a great force, and attacked a castle built by Thomas De Clare (mentioned as having fought against the O'Brians, and who died in battle in 1287), but being met by his son, was defeated, himself and William De Lacy made prisoners, and John De Lacy slain. At the same period two native chiefs were murdered by their own people. The O'Tooles and O'Byrnes, of the Wicklow mountains and fastnesses, rose this year, and, hiding in the woods and glens, threatened the city with serious mischief. Sir J. Wogan was obliged, at the same time, to march an army against Sir Robert Verdon, a factious English baron, who was at the head of numerous malcontents, and so large was their force that he was defeated, and many of his people slain.

About this time also the great Irish chiefs, charmed with the valour and bravery of Bruce, King of Scotland, sent over messengers, requesting him to send his brother to be their king, which pleased Bruce, as his brother Edward had been for some time a burden to him, claiming a share in the kingdom, and disturbing him by his intolerable ambition. Early in the ensuing spring (Sir Edmund Butler being Lord Justice), a large fleet, consisting of three hundred sail, appeared off the coast of Antrim, and soon after Edward Bruce landed at the head of six thousand men; they were soon joined by multitudes of Irish, and ran over, without molestation, the whole county of Antrim, sweeping through Ulster, spreading devastation and

ruin before them. A church full of men, women, and children was burned down at Ardee. De Burgh, joined by the prince of Connaught, hastened to repel the marauders. It is said, that on the deputy's offering him aid, he told him to go home, saying that his people would overturn the Scots. In the meantime Bruce had overrun all Ulster, and, on returning to Dundalk, had been crowned king. At the river Ban, De Burgh came up with him, but was defeated with much loss, his brother and several chiefs being taken prisoners. This battle was gained by stratagem on the part of the Scots. "The English," says Dalrymple, "ignorant of the motions of an enemy whom they despised, advanced to the attack. The Scots, by the counsel of Sir Philip Mowbray, left their banners flying in the camp, and, having made a circuit, suddenly attacked the flank of the English."

Whilst O'Connor was absent assisting De Burgh, an unworthy relative, Roderick O'Connor, took possession of his kingdom, and made many pay tribute. Hearing this, Felim was obliged to return, and expelled the invaders by a battle, after which he, for some unaccountable reason, declared for Bruce and the Scots. Meanwhile Bruce had besieged Carrickfergus, while the Irish chiefs ruined many castles, and committed barbarous depredations on their fellow-countrymen. Bruce then marched into Meath, and twice defeated the English enemy on account of divisions amongst the great lords. In 1316 their forces were again in the field; but Bruce

was obliged to remain in Ulster on account of the scarcity of provisions. The great lords who had upheld the English Government were rewarded at this time, as a matter of policy as well as gratitude. Butler was created Earl of Carrick, and FitzThomas, Earl of Kildare. The De Burghs and Geraldines, who had never settled their feuds, had seemingly laid aside all thought save to uphold the British interests. Felim O'Connor, collecting all his forces, at this time determined to give battle to De Burgh, as the chosen chief of the Irish, for whom he had gained several battles. They met near Athenry, in Galway, and, after the most determined engagement fought since the old Irish wars, the Irish were totally defeated, eleven thousand being slain, with their chief, Felim O'Connor, of whom the Irish had great expectations.

The brave garrison of Carrickfergus had all this time remained under siege, and were reduced to live on hides, and are said to have eaten four Scots whom they took prisoners. Towards the end of the year, some important advantages had been gained over the Scots and natives. The Scots saved no trouble in making their army worthy of a Bruce, and we are assured that his army amounted to twenty thousand men, independent of the Irish. Marching from the north, they halted at Castleknock, near Dublin. The citizens, seeing themselves in danger of a siege, determined to resist to the last. Hearing of their intrepidity, Bruce marched through Naas to Kilkenny and Limerick. By this time the Scots

were nearly reduced to famine. Sir Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, arrived as deputy when the news of Bruce's retreat was received. Through the remainder of this year, a sort of endless turmoil was kept up amongst the Irish and people of the Pale. The De Lacys were alike free from Ireland and England; neither governed them; and we see at this time that Hugh Cannon was murdered by one of the Berminghams at Naas, yet was not punished. This terrible warfare of Bruce had reduced the country to such a state of desolation, that the people were worn to the dreadful extremity of boiling dead bodies and eating them. The deputy, before his departure, condemned John De Lacy to be squeezed to death for his many bad acts.

Early in the year 1318, Bruce met the English army at Faughard, near Dundalk, where Bruce was killed by John Maupas, who was found stretched on his body. After this time, the Irish, suffering as usual from the English of the Pale, sent a deputation to the king, with a memorial stating their numerous grievances, their bad treatment, and ending with—"Alas! we have no directing head to watch over, to enlighten our councils, and to amend our errors." Yet they gained nothing, and still suffered under unjustifiable laws: First, that no Irishman could bring an action into the king's courts; that if an Englishman murdered a native, it was no crime; that no native woman could, if married to an Englishman, on his death claim a dower; that an English lord could set aside the will of a native

at his pleasure, and appropriate his property, which law was a host of evils in itself.

Before the commencement of Edward III.'s reign, the power of England was decreasing in Ireland. He ascended the throne in 1327, at which period the great barons, who had become almost as powerful as the former kings of Ireland, committed all sorts of atrocities on the natives; and although they represented them as being barbarians, we are aware, from the history of those times, that even in England the barons were no more than feudal chiefs, who lived on the revenues supplied by their retainers or vassals, who kept up great state, and were positive masters of those who lived under them. Great hostilities broke out just at this time between Lord Arnold Poer, assisted by the Burghs, and Maurice FitzThomas, afterwards Earl of Desmond, assisted by the Butlers. Poer called FitzThomas in mockery a rhymer, for which affront they took the field. The consequences of the battle nearly ruined the Poers, and were very injurious to De Burgh. Arnold Poer fled to England, and left the field triumphant with the Butlers, who despoiled his property. Both parties sent soon after to seek the king's pardon through his deputy, Thomas FitzJohn, Earl of Kildare. While the king was considering on their right of pardon, the Irish of Leinster had set up Mac Art MacMorrough, a descendant of their ancient princes, as King of Leinster, and marched with a numerous army to the very walls of Dublin, but were beaten by Sir

Henry Traherne, and their chief taken prisoner ; his life was spared for £200, and he was confined in the Castle, from whence he soon escaped.

In 1328 James Butler, Earl of Carrick, was created Earl of Ormond. Soon after, and during the administration of Roger Outlaw, Poer and De Burgh returned, and a peace was established between the refractory lords, in celebration of which the Earl of Ulster and Lord Maurice FitzThomas gave feasts. The Irish again in this reign petitioned the king for equal laws, which he recommended to the consideration of the lords, and there it ended.

During the year 1329 new insurrections broke out in the south. Mac Geoghan and Thomond took the field, and at the same time some of the English were actually murdered by their fellows. One hundred and sixty were inhumanly butchered in the south, among whom was Lord Talbot of Malahide. Many more were killed in like manner in Munster. The troops of the chiefs at the same time were victorious everywhere. The Lord Justice was obliged, at this critical period, to call in the aid of the Earl of Kildare. He, accordingly, at the head of ten thousand men, succeeded in subduing Leinster, and obliging it to pay the old taxation of *coigne and livery* for the support of his army. The next year was but a copy of this. In 1331 a great outrage was committed in Wexford. An assembled mob of Irish surrounded a church, and murdered the entire congregation (some say burned them, church and all). About four hundred Eng-

lish inhabitants at length had the courage to rise and put them down. Four hundred of the insurgents were killed by the sword, and the remainder driven into the river. In the same year Sir Anthony Lacy summoned a Parliament, which met at Kilkenny on the 7th of July. Nearly all the great lords attended. Those who absented themselves, appearing by some outrages committed in Leinster to be evilly disposed, were arrested, one of whom, Lord William Bermingham, was executed at Dublin. Several letters were sent at this time to the deputy, expressing the king's wishes that Ireland should receive the privilege of English law, which proved that it never was the fault of royalty that the natives were overlooked. In 1332 the king specified his intention of coming to Ireland, which caused a great commotion, and the hasty redress of many grievances, lest the king should remark their defalcation of duty. Scotland being, however, again in arms, he found something more to his taste in the glorious battle at Halidon Hill. At the same time he granted pardon to all who had been disaffected, to be given for any terms his deputy might deem expedient.

In June of the next year, William De Burgh was treacherously murdered near Carrickfergus by his people; and so enraged was the mind of the populace that they rose *en masse* and killed three hundred abettors in the crime. The murdered earl (Ulster) left behind him one daughter, who was afterwards married to Lionel, third son of Edward III., and

after some time the title accrued to the crown of England. Immediately on his death, two of the younger members of his family, Sir William, progenitor to the Earls of Clanrickard, and Sir Edmund, ancestor to the Earls of Mayo, joined together to seize on his estates, the town of Galway and a large tract of land being taken by Sir William and his followers. They went so far as to assume the dress, manners, and customs of the natives, in order to gain them over, as did many English afterwards, to follow their example. In 1339 the Irish of Munster were again in arms. The Earl of Desmond attacked the insurgents of Kerry, and slew twelve hundred, and took their lord prisoner. The Earl of Kildare attacked those of Leinster, and carried an immense booty to Dublin. For many years nothing particular occurred. In 1343 Sir Ralph Ufford was lord deputy. He was very severe and rigorous in the performance of his duty, and therefore disliked. The chiefs of Leinster had, after many struggles, succeeded in gaining large possessions in their country. The king, on renewed hostilities with France, had released the Earl of Kildare, and reinstated Desmond, after which there were some years of peace. There were several deputies successively, one of whom, Sir Thomas Rokeby, was much liked. It is said of him, that being reproached for allowing himself to be served in wooden cups, he answered, "I had rather drink out of wood, and pay gold and silver, than drink out of gold, and make wooden payment."

The Earl of Desmond died in 1355, after being so far reinstated in royal favour as to become deputy. James, Earl of Ormond, had, for a short time, replaced him in the government when the king sent his third son, Lionel, over as deputy, with fifteen hundred men and some nobles; he marched into Munster, and succeeded in subjecting it. He did, however, little good, and in three years returned to England. In 1367 he again had the same office, when the celebrated Statute of Kilkenny was passed, which contained some enactments so prejudicial to the native interest that their grievous effects were felt for centuries. "No English shall marry or be fostered by a native" ("the latter tie," says Davis, "was stronger than blood"), "but will be guilty of treason. If they use native customs, they shall forfeit their lands, &c. The Irish shall not be allowed to have pasturage of the English, nor a native to enter the church," said the statute. Considering what lucrative positions prelates held, the latter enactment was a great injury to them. At this time the churchmen had gained great power in the State, and become haughty and aspiring. As an instance, in the nineteenth year of Edward's reign, the king having gained a grant from Parliament of taxes to be levied on the Church property, Ralph Kelly, Archbishop of Cashel, resolved to oppose the decree, and issued an order, that whatever clergyman should contribute it should be instantly deprived of his gown; and although some proceedings were taken against him,

the Archbishop escaped victorious. In this reign a university was, for the first time, established in Dublin, at St. Patrick's Cathedral. One of the ordinances of this school was this, says Moore—"We ordain also that we and our successors may choose a secular regent in divinity, of any order of worship or religion whatsoever, who may actually read lectures on the Bible in our Church of St. Patrick without any contradiction or calumny from any person."

It seems in this reign that, notwithstanding the ordinance of the Synod of Cashel, the Church of Ireland still continued as different as ever from that of England. Until the period when regular Parliaments were established in Ireland, those mentioned as having been convened were merely meetings of the great lords to ratify laws passed in England. Although little of any moment or use was passed in this reign relative to Ireland, yet it was the commencement of many outrageous laws whose baneful influence shadowed over the land for centuries. It is hoped enough has been written of those eventful reigns to give some idea of the insufficiency of half-formed laws on prejudiced persecution. The lords of the Pale looked on their neighbours with hatred and contempt, and the warm hearts that might have been conciliated by that solicitude and even-handed justice dictated by Gospel Christianity, became hardened by every fresh act of oppression; and those who had chosen England for their protector, finding themselves looked upon as conquered barbarians, sought to shake off the galling yoke

by useless and transitory insurrections, which only gave their enemies opportunity to misrepresent them to the Throne.

CHAPTER VIII.

FROM 1377 TO 1422.

RICHARD II.—HENRY IV.—HENRY V.

ON the death of Edward III., Richard II. ascended the throne. The first Act passed in his reign relative to Ireland was to oblige all persons having property in that country to repair thither and dwell on it, or appoint proper persons to take charge of it; and free trade was allowed between Ireland and other countries. In 1380 some Spanish galleys were attacked and beaten in the harbour of Kinsale. The young king, at this period, showed much favour to Robert De Vere, Earl of Oxford, whom he created Duke of Ireland, giving him that kingdom for life; he, however, soon after died, and James, Earl of Ormond, was made Justice of Ireland. Many victories were gained over the natives by him. On his recall, the Duke of Gloucester, the king's uncle, was about to embark for Ireland as lord deputy, when Richard suddenly notified his intention of conducting an expedition into that country in person. Much surprise was felt at this hasty determination. In 1394 Richard landed at Waterford, at the head

of four thousand men-at-arms and thirty thousand archers, to *conquer Ireland*. One would have imagined this force ample for such a purpose ; but the young king was satisfied with a mock submission, which had been proffered to his ancestors. The chiefs all bound themselves to his service, and the famous chiefs, O'Neill and Mac Morrogh, were considered as great acquisitions to the throne. Richard seemed to delight in the crowds that followed him, and appeared, by many wise enactments, to know the true state of Ireland ; but the affairs of England obliged him to return thither in the summer of 1395, when he left his young kinsman, Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, as deputy in Ireland.

The king had no sooner departed than the Irish chiefs, throwing off the submission they had but assumed, made fierce incursions on the borders of the Pale, when they were boldly repulsed, and the chief, Maclon, slain. The young deputy, at this time, attended a Parliament held at Shrewsbury, with great splendour, having his retainers dressed, at his own expense, in white and crimson. On his return to Ireland, he engaged in a war with the O'Byrnes of Wicklow, where, having with great valour charged into the thickest of the fight, he was killed and torn to pieces by his enemies.

Five years had elapsed since Richard's visit to Ireland, when he again determined to make an expedition into that country, as he said, to avenge the death of his cousin, the Earl of March, and landed accordingly in Waterford in 1398. The

merchants received him with pleasure. A few days after his landing, his officer, Janico D'Artois, defeated the Irish in battle, and slew two hundred of their number in Kildare. Richard marched towards Wicklow, in hopes of receiving the submission of Donald Mac Art, son of Art Mac Morrogh; but that chief retired within his woods and fastnesses, bidding defiance to the king, and swearing to defend his country until death. So strong were these intrenchments of nature, that Richard found it impossible to force Mac Morrogh to open war, so he came to the determination of cutting his way through the woods. Whilst awaiting the preparations, Richard created several knights under his standard, amongst whom was the young Henry of Monmouth, afterwards the brave Henry V. Richard addressed him thus—"My fair cousin, be henceforth valiant, for you have some brave blood to conquer." Many chiefs tendered their submission; but the brave Mac Morrogh vowed never to yield. Having harassed the English army, and done all left in his power, he sent to the king, requesting him to appoint some chief to meet him, in order to enter into a treaty. (This chief was after this time married to an English heiress, the Baroness Norris.) The Earl of Gloucester, being appointed, went to this singular interview, with two hundred lances and a thousand archers. Mac Morrogh met him at a river, his followers remaining behind; he was mounted on a beautiful horse, richly caparisoned, without saddle or bridle; in his hand he carried a

spear, which, on approaching the earl, he flung from him. He is described as having been very tall and handsome, dark-complexioned and proud—"in a word, a man." The conditions offered to Mac Morrogh he vowed he never would accept, and the unsatisfactory conference broke up leaving them more bitter foes than ever. On Richard's hearing this, he was furious, and swore that he would never leave Ireland till he had Mac Morrogh, living or dead. Little dreaming of the fate awaiting himself, he soon after heard the alarming intelligence that Henry of Bolingbroke had landed in England. He therefore was obliged to depart, and met the misfortunes accruing from his unwise absence—a long imprisonment and untimely death. A law was made in this reign granting permission to dig gold, silver, and copper mines, in lieu of which a ninth part was to go to the king, and the rest to be sold to the king's mint.

Henry IV. of Lancaster was crowned king in 1400. In the third year of his reign Thomas Drake, of Lancaster, although yet very young, was appointed Lieutenant of Ireland. He landed at Dalkey in November. Soon after, the O'Byrnes, of Wicklow, were beaten by John Drake, mayor of Dublin, when four hundred were killed. In this year a privilege was granted to the city—the right of having a sword carried before the chief magistrate. The Irish were always so fond of royalty and splendour that the young viceroy received a warm reception, and a crowd of votaries flocked to

his standard: even O'Byrne gave pledges of his sincerity.

After less than a year's government, the royal deputy retired, and Sir Stephen Scroope was appointed in his stead. The Leinster chief, Art Mac Morrogh, being still in arms, defying in his mountain fortresses all power, the deputy set out, accompanied by the Earls of Ormond and Desmond, to put down their forces. So glorious a stand did the Leinster chief make, that for a long time the result seemed doubtful; at length the English were victorious, and six hundred of the natives killed.

On his return to Dublin, Ormond was made deputy. After some time, feuds continuing, the Duke of Lancaster was again appointed deputy. On his arrival, he found it necessary to imprison several of the great lords of the Pale. A Parliament was held in this year. The young duke went out against the Irish; but, half of his followers having deserted him, he was obliged to return to the city, and soon after re-embarked for England. This reign is very unimportant with regard to Ireland. The Irish had, by perseverance, accumulated to such numbers that they became very formidable to England, and Janico D'Artois, an active agent of the king, was zealously employed in trying to put them down. A succession of desperate engagements ensued, in which Janico D'Artois was beaten. The new deputy, Thomas Crawley, was obliged to take the command himself, and at Kilkee gained a great victory. At this important juncture, Sir John Talbot, Lord

Furnival, being a great general, was appointed deputy. He landed at Dalkey, and, hastily collecting troops, immediately proceeded against the O'Byrnes and O'Moores, whom he defeated, and obliged to join his army. In like manner he took the castles of the O'Hanlons and O'Connors, and, in fact, reduced all the chiefs in the south. After three months of such showy achievements, which did more harm than good to the English interest in Ireland, Henry, who had first served himself in Ireland as a soldier, and knew well the bravery of the natives, on being about a second time to invade France, sent for assistance to Ireland. A small body of troops, under Thomas Butler, joined him, and are immortalised in the annals of England for their bravery. The great lords being much given to dwelling in foreign lands, the king thought proper in this reign to pass an Act renewing the old law of absenteeism.

In 1419 the brave chief Mac Morrogh was captured by Lord Furnival, but escaped to renew his hostilities. The chief of the O'Kellys was also taken. In the following year a new deputy appeared in the Earl of Ormond. A Parliament was assembled at Dublin, and a petition forwarded to the king, seeking redress for many grievances, too long to recapitulate here. The Irish being again in arms, the Lord Justice attacked them (having the chief O'Moore at their head), and defeated their immense army. Campian, an old historian, adds this miracle to the conquest :—" The sun, almost lodged in the

west, miraculously stood still in his epicycle the space of three hours, till the feat was accomplished, and, no pit in that moor annoying either horse or man, he vanquished O'Moore and his terrible army in the red bog of Athy."

The deputy then attacked and reduced Mac Mahon, chief of Monaghan, and thus ended his triumphant campaign. Nothing more worthy of enumeration occurred in this reign.

CHAPTER IX.

FROM 1422 TO 1435.

HENRY VI.—EDWARD IV.—EDWARD V.—RICHARD III.

It was not natural that the law passed soon after the English invasion, regarding ties of consanguinity, would have much influence over the middle and lower classes of society, where the daily intercourse of the English and Irish made them friends and associates. English children were chiefly reared by Irish nurses; and so often had intermarriages occurred, that there were few families in this reign who could claim pure descent from either side. Even before this, English ladies of high degree were married to Irish chiefs, many of whom were famed for their beauty and noble bearing. So that we see at this period many of the great lords openly

joining the Irish, particularly the Earls of Kerry and Ormond. The latter, having a feud with the Talbots, kept the country in warfare for many years. In 1423, the Earl of March being appointed deputy, many expectations were formed of his government, but unfortunately he was seized with plague the following year, and died at Trim. Lord Talbot was next in the administration, who, as an illustrious warrior, was universally beloved. He, however, was soon changed, and a long period elapsed before anything interesting occurred. During three reigns we find scarcely any mention made of the Earls of Kildare and Desmond, the Earls of Ormond having been all that time the only favoured lords of the Pale. Many Statutes were passed in this reign, obliging Irishmen resident in England to return home, and to prevent their leaving Ireland without permission.

The Earl of Desmond at this time held a prominent place in Ireland, being the most wealthy of the original English of the Pale. "He had acquired his title and estates in an outrageous and unwarrantable manner," says Dr. Leland. "Thomas, his nephew, and heir of Desmond, had accidentally been so engaged in chase, that he was benighted near Tralee, and obliged to take shelter in the house of one of his dependants, called Mac Cormac. Catharine, a beautiful daughter of his host, instantly inspired the earl with a violent passion that he could not subdue; so he married her, and by this inferior alliance so alienated his followers,

whose pride regarded this indulgence of his love as an unpardonable degradation of his family, that his uncle, taking advantage of this state of his affairs, seized all his property, and obliged him formally to surrender. He retired to Rouen and soon died." This earl, now created Earl Desmond, by his wily advances, gained the favour of Ormond, then deputy, and, through him, the king's permission to purchase lands, no matter by whom holden, which covered a pretended concession to him of the kingdom of Cork, which he imputed to Robert Colgan, and by means of his numerous followers he was enabled at this time to establish his authority, and live in the rude magnificence of a native prince. Ormond at length, so daring did he become, was obliged to take arms against him, and after many battles was forced to enter into a truce of a year with the despot, who found means during that time to send to the king, and by his special representations induce that monarch to send a mandate to Ormond to appear in his presence without delay.

The earl saw at once the state of things, and summoned the nobility and gentry to appear at Drogheda, when he informed them that, after an administration of three years, he was about to render up an account of his conduct at the foot of the throne. "I appeal," said he, "to my greatest enemy to stand forth and say in what I have acted wrong—when the subject has suffered by my injustice, or the State by my neglect." His noble sentiments and polished address did not fail of their

effect : the assembly sent a petition to Parliament for his continuance in office, and he was allowed to remain, and, though much persecuted, continued in office until 1446, when he was superseded by the Earl of Shrewsbury, who was soon replaced by the Duke of York. The Mac Geoghans having risen in Meath, and done considerable damage, burning down towns and destroying the inhabitants, the deputy found it necessary to make war against them ; but so kindly did he (the Duke of York) treat their chiefs, that, on his return to his sept, he boasted that “ he had given peace to the king’s lieutenant.” He had a son born in the Castle of Dublin, George, afterwards the ill-fated Duke of Clarence. The great chiefs, Ormond and Desmond, were chosen sponsors for the child : the latter, who had strong feelings as regarded such ties, was ever after bound to the English interests. The administration of the duke was just and impartial. A Parliament was held at Drogheda, in which it was enacted that no lord should keep more *horse and foot* than he could support without burdening his neighbours ; that all arbitrary exactions be abolished ; that the names of a lord’s retinue be returned to the magistrate of his county ; that complainants in a cause should give security to pay the damages, if found that the defendant had been unjustly accused, &c., &c. ; and an address of thanks was sent to the king for the liberation of the Earl of Ormond.

It being circulated in England at this time, that the Duke of York intended invading England with

an Irish army, he immediately set out for England. He was killed in his fiftieth year, universally regretted, and many of his Irish friends, who had followed him into England, were killed also, at the famous Battle of Wakefield. During the absence of the great lords, the Irish chiefs seized on many of their castles, and in many instances obliged the English to pay tribute. Parliaments were called without permission, and taxes to a fearful amount levied on the people.

In 1461 Edward IV. came to the throne, and granted Ireland's government to the Duke of Clarence for life, who sent as his deputy Sir Rowland Fitz Eustace. The Butlers and Kildares, or Geraldines, had, in the wars in England, keeping up their hereditary hatred, fought on different sides. Among the most distinguished of the Yorkists was James Butler, Earl of Ormond, who was beheaded. Therefore, during Edward's reign, his family remained in disgrace, and of course the fortunes of the Geraldines were ascendant. Desmond was appointed deputy, and crowds flocked to his standard, the natives loving his munificence and display. The giddy young lord grew careless from success and exaltation, took on him the state of a prince, and founded two colleges, one at Youghal, and the other at Drogheda. But his great popularity and unguarded conduct—the immense wealth and royal patronage bestowed upon him—gave his enemies, who had long watched him with a jealous eye, many opportunities of remarking things which,

working together, they intended to use for his debasement. About this time, the sept of O'Meleiklin, the ruling family in Meath, having been invaded by some English, rose in arms to avenge the injury, which, being settled, the chief was satisfied; but the natives, some in arms, were not so readily dispersed, but by continued outrages obliged the deputy to march against them. Instead of dispersing, they increased, and gave him battle with such success that the English were beaten, and Desmond taken prisoner.

The Irish treated Desmond as if he had been one of their own great chiefs. The son of O'Connor, of Offaly, whom Desmond had served some time previously, fancying himself the earl's kinsman by some of the ties of fosterage, then so sacred in the opinions of the Irish, determined to release him, so accordingly he conveyed Desmond to a place of security, and gave him and several of his followers their liberty. He thus regained his government; but the Irish still continuing to commit many depredations on the defenceless inhabitants of Meath, he was forced to enter into a treaty with O'Brian, who was left in the enjoyment of many of his conquests, and the town of Limerick was obliged to pay him an annual revenue. Having thus secured his property, O'Brian returned to his country in all the victorious pride of an Irish prince. His enemies now unreservedly exclaimed against his conduct, his pride, his inglorious expeditions, and disgraceful compact with the enemy, giving them ample grounds

for complaint. Their opinions were accidentally conveyed to the deputy's ears. A quarrel having occasioned a brawl in the neighbourhood of the city, Desmond accused the Bishop of Meath as the instigator. The prelate recriminated in great anger, and loudly inveighed against the conduct of the earl, accusing him of disloyalty, oppressing the king's subjects, and violating the laws. At length the quarrel rose to such a height, that each vowed to lay his complaint before the king. Desmond immediately convened a Parliament at Drogheda, which granted him testimonials of good behaviour, suppressing all his military failures. Thus prepared, he went to England, and succeeded in putting down his enemies. Soon after, the king married Elizabeth Grey. Her father, Earl Rivers, was promoted to be High Constable of England, and Tiptoft, who resigned, made Lord Deputy of Ireland, with full powers. The enemies of Desmond at this time were more bitter than ever, and represented his conduct to the deputy in the darkest colours. It was said that the queen, having been offended by some remarks made by Desmond on her family, had privately desired Tiptoft to examine strictly into the conduct of that earl, and, if guilty, to execute the utmost rigour of the law. A Parliament was held in Dublin, in which the prelates of Ireland were empowered to excommunicate, and were ordered to do so to all those who were evilly disposed towards the Government of England. The Parliament was adjourned to Drogheda. The enemies of the

Geraldines assembled, and succeeded in attainting Desmond; he had the boldness to repair to the deputy, to justify his conduct, when, to the confusion and astonishment of his party, he was immediately beheaded.

The unfortunate end of this unhappy earl, for breaking laws which had never been kept, was a specimen of all the illiberality of party feeling then existing among the English, as well towards each other as in regard to the Irish. His brother, Kildare, having escaped into England, laid his complaint before the king, who not only restored his estates and privileges, but made him, in a short time, lord deputy.

In 1473 a fraternity of arms was instituted, consisting of thirteen persons of great consequence, and distinguished for loyalty. They were to assemble annually in Dublin, on St. George's Day (and were therefore called "Knights of St. George"), to express their zeal for the English Government. To their captain, to be chosen every year, were assigned one hundred and twenty archers on horseback, and forty other horsemen. They were to receive sixpence per day. To those the defence of the English Pale was entrusted, with such troops as they might levy on an emergency. This brotherhood was to receive a revenue from a duty on merchandize sold in Ireland, and had the power of electing new members, and apprehending outlaws.

The Ormond family had remained in disgrace until John, the elder surviving brother of the last

earl, went to England and obtained his pardon. So pleased was the king with his polished manners, that he said of him—"He is the goodliest knight and finest gentleman in Christendom; and if good breeding, virtue, and liberal qualities were lost in the world, they might be found in John, Earl of Ormond." For a time the Earls of Kildare were banished, but soon again re-established, and Ormond also reinstated in his ancient dignities. The Duke of Clarence was, for a time, deputy; when, after the death of Thomas, Earl of Kildare, his son Gerald became deputy. Some time later his sister was married to the head of the great house of O'Neill; and although he passed an Act that the Pale should hold no intercourse with the Irish, shortly after an Act of naturalisation was passed for his sister's husband, Con O'Neill. Kildare held the government under the infant Richard, Duke of York, the king's second son.

During the succeeding reign of Edward V., and the usurpation of Richard III., the state of Ireland presents but the same monotonous scene of riot so long carried on. Some of the native princes lived in great state, and became so powerful that the deputy was obliged to pass an Act relaxing the severity of former laws, and allowing Irish to receive benefices within the Pale.

CHAPTER X.

FROM 1485 TO 1547.

HENRY VII.—HENRY VIII.

ON the accession of Henry, he wisely forbore to displace the deputy, lest he might seem to distrust Ireland. Nor did he forget the upholders of his family. The Earl of Ormond was restored, and made a privy councillor of England. The ascendancy of the York faction in Irish favour, however, attaching some blame to Kildare, he was ordered to appear in England ; but he excused himself for some time. Edward Plantagenet had been imprisoned by Richard III. ; Henry also kept him confined in the Tower. About this time a plot was thickening among the Yorkists. A priest of Oxford, named Simons, educated a boy, called Lambert Simnel, to personate the young prince, who was said to have escaped from the Tower. He acted his part so well that we are told he succeeded in imposing himself on many nobles attached to the house of York. However, he was afterwards arrested and made turnspit in the king's kitchen. The Irish, who had taken an active part in the insurrection, awoke in terror from their dazzling visions. The city of Waterford, which had remained true to the king, received his thanks. Instead of crushing the power of the great lords, however, who had joined the faction, Henry retained them in power. He ap-

pointed Sir Richard Edgecomb to proceed to Ireland, who went first to Kinsale, and, in the king's name, received the allegiance of the De Courcys ; he then proceeded to Waterford, commended the loyalty of its inhabitants, and then proceeded to Dublin, where the magistrates received him with marked submission. Kildare was haughty and imperious ; but after some time he acquiesced in Edgecomb's proposals, and performed his oath of fealty in a solemn and public manner, with the Lords Portleston, Howth, Trimelstown, Gormanstown, Slane, and Dunsany. With his pardon, Kildare was presented with a gold chain from the king, and continued lord deputy. Soon after this he was obliged to take arms for the suppression of some of the great Irish chiefs then in insurrection, and gained a great victory over Morrough O'Carrel and MacCarthy, the heirs of the ancient princes of Desmond. In the following year animosities arose between O'Donnell and O'Neill, from this laconic cause : O'Neill sent a message to O'Donnell, thus—“ *Send me tribute, or ——*” O'Donnell answered—“ *I owe you none, and if ——*”

Another pretender also appeared in Ireland in this reign, called Perkin Warbeck, of whom you may read in the History of England. Kildare joined the adventurer with some other Irish lords.

The king, harassed by repeated accounts of disorder in Ireland, summoned the Archbishop of Dublin to England, Lord Gormanstown being made deputy. The Bishop was received with

favour. Henry expressed his surprise that Ireland should be so prone to rebellion. Walter, with much simplicity, imputed it to the idle life of the people, which made them easily led astray; and, although the king was too able a politician to be so easily satisfied, the prelate was well entertained. It is said of this prelate that some foreign ambassador having praised Henry very much, the king asked the prelate what he thought of the speech. He answered, with undesigning ease and simplicity: "It pleaseth me well; but methinks it flattered your Highness too much." Henry replied: "Forsooth, good father of Dublin, the very same fault occurred to us, and we were minded to observe it." The Earl of Kildare was particularly afraid of the Bishop's representations, and immediately repaired to England, when he boldly demanded of Henry to confront him with his adversaries. The king told him that various articles had been urged against him, and therefore he must be judged in Ireland, it being the proper place.

Sir Edward Poynings was appointed deputy. On his arrival, he marched out with Kildare and Ormond to put down an Irish chief called O'Hanlon; but Kildare's enemies, watching him, said that he had entered with O'Hanlon into a treaty to massacre the deputy, on which he was immediately arrested. After taking some castles from the chiefs, Sir E. Poynings held a Parliament at Drogheda to consider the grievous taxes imposed on the people by the great chiefs. The law called "Poynings'

Law" was passed, which made all Irish enactments dependent on the British Parliament. A certain tax was fixed, and no more was to be paid; the people were to receive a year's tax to improve the roads, &c., and many very useful laws were passed. Some time after this, the Earl of Kildare was brought before Henry after a long imprisonment, and confronted with his enemies. The king advised him to seek counsel to defend his cause. "I will," said the earl, "the best counsel in England;" and, seizing Henry by the hand with uncourtly familiarity, "Your Highness I take for my counsel against those false knaves." Among other accusations, it was alleged against him that he had burned the Church of Cashel. "Spare your evidence," said Kildare; "I did set fire to the church, for I thought the bishop had been in it." This straightforward bearing went far with Henry, who, after they had finished a warm and eloquent address with these words—"All Ireland could not govern this earl," answered, "Well, then, this earl shall govern all Ireland."

The triumph of Kildare was complete. He was restored to his former dignity and estates. The king also granted pardon to all those aiding and abetting against his power in that kingdom, deeming it highly necessary to send troops forthwith to reduce the northern chiefs, who were still in rebellion against his power. The very name of Kildare was formidable to the insurgents. Full of gratitude to the king, he pursued them, and drove them out

of every stronghold, obliged them to surrender, and, after making friends with his enemy, the Archbishop of Armagh, he tendered friendship to Sir James Ormond, head of the house of Butler, who, wishing to explain his conduct to Kildare, came to Dublin with an armed train. The people of the city flew to arms. The deputy appointed the Cathedral of St. Patrick's as the place of interview. Their followers soon came to blows outside; but the disturbance was quieted by the deputy. Kildare did wonders for the British power in Ireland; he appeared in person quelling disturbances in every part of the island. About this time his sister was married to Sir Piers Butler, who was opponent to James, whom he supported. It is said that Piers, beaten by his relative, lived in abject poverty till some complaint made by his wife induced him to sally forth, and, after killing Ormond, he came in to his estates. His daughter was married to Ulick Clanrickard, who, not treating her well, the deputy, after some altercation, declared war against him. O'Neill, his kinsman, joined the deputy, and a great battle was fought at Knocktow, near the city of Galway, when the enemy was beaten from the field with little loss to the king's army. The news was sent to Henry, who conferred the order of the Garter on Kildare.

At this time the warm-hearted good-nature of the Irish had mixed them up in every affair of the English of the Pale. Their language was generally spoken even there. "Law forbade intermarrying,"

says Leland ; “ but laws were insignificant barriers against the propensities of humanity, and the power of mutual intercourse and affection.” It is very much to be doubted that this unity could have ever been brought about, were the Irish natives of a temper naturally vindictive or resentful, to which some writers have ascribed their repeated rebellions. They wanted equality of laws, and though the kings always granted them their wishes, interested deputies and refractory barons kept them back, and thus caused much turmoil and bloodshed. Not in any old Irish manuscript do we find a rancorous expression relative to the English.

Henry ascended the throne in 1509. He was so young, flattered, and caressed, that he thought little of his Irish dominions. Kildare continued deputy, and was actively employed in keeping the country in quiet, when, on his way, with a large army, to put down a refractory chief, he was taken ill at Athy, and, having been carried to Kildare, died there, in September, 1513, and was buried at Christ Church, Dublin. His son became deputy after him, who, inheriting much of his father’s bravery, followed up the war, beat the turbulent chief O’Toole (who was killed at the head of his followers), and gained many victories. This course of success was, however, soon ended, by his enemy, Ormond (between whose house and the Geraldines the old feud still continued), presenting himself at the English court, and gaining the ear of Wolsey, then premier, who recalled Kildare ; and although he could not be

condemned, yet he was kept long waiting for acquittal, during which time he married Elizabeth Grey, daughter of the Marquis of Dorset, which increased his consequence, and made the minister more cautious in his attempts against his loyalty. Thomas, Earl of Surrey, was created deputy. We are informed that Wolsey sent him, fearing his power with the court. Kildare was acquitted, and went to Calais with the king. A few days after Surrey's arrival in Ireland, he was obliged to take arms against O'Neill, who had invaded Meath; but before the deputy could reach him, he retired from the field, and soon after sent in his submission, notice of which was immediately sent to England as an important event. The king received it, and said that Ireland would never be pacified until she had equal laws with England. Surrey was empowered to confer knighthood on all the well-affected chiefs, and a collar of gold was presented to O'Neill in the king's name.

The whole time of this administration, the deputy was occupied in contenting factious chiefs, and repelling invasions. O'Moore, of Leix, gave him much trouble. At length, nearly starved in their woods and fastnesses, they submitted. The justice and equity of Surrey's administration are worthy of an honourable remembrance. During his residence he had formed an unfavourable opinion of Kildare, whose enemies were always on the watch to vilify him; therefore, on Surrey's resignation, Pierce Butler, Earl of Ormond, was made deputy. Kildare

did not let him enjoy this dignity long, but, openly declaring his animosity, accused Ormond of disaffection, and, without any proof, succeeded in putting him down, and being himself created deputy.

About this time (1523) Desmond, kinsman to Kildare, who had been long living in a state of magnificence equal to that of his successors, when Francis I., of France, determined to raise a commotion in Ireland, entered into a treaty with Desmond, bound himself, if the king sent an army to Ireland, to join it on landing, and assist him in every possible way. Francis was prevented taking advantage of his promises, and Henry, having heard of their connection, sent orders to Kildare to seize the Earl of Desmond, which order he evaded. His enemies immediately misrepresented his conduct at the throne, and had him arrested; but he was soon reinstated. Joining, soon after, the forces of his kinsman, Con O'Neill, he made war against O'Donnell, chief of Tyrconnell, but was soon obliged to come to terms with him in order to quell an insurrection headed by Hugh O'Neill, which he did effectually.

Some time after, the Earl of Ormond was made deputy, when Kildare was taken up, accused of forming alliances with the king's enemies, and many grievous derelictions of duty. He was confined in the Tower for some time, until a large body of English friends became sureties for his good conduct. The baron Delvin first became deputy, but was captured by O'Connor, a native chief, and im-

prisoned. After him was the Earl of Ossory (late Ormond), who could not effect the release of Devlin. Kildare endeavoured to annoy the deputy by raising factions against him. Soon after he was withdrawn, and Sir William Skeffington appointed to the government. He was advised to conciliate the two great houses of the Butlers and Geraldines. Kildare for a time pretended submission, but at length, jealous of his superior in power, worked, by every representation possible to make against the deputy, and succeeded so well that he was himself soon after appointed in his stead, but ruled with such tyranny and overbearing arrogance, that he was soon after accused and condemned to the Tower by the king. On leaving Ireland, he left his son Thomas as viceroy, who was much beloved for his noble bearing and captivating manners ; but to the rashness of youth and violence of temper he added a great degree of family pride and contempt for the rivals of his house. His father, he knew, had been confined in the Tower, and a report being spread that he had been killed, and an edict passed against his family, he rashly took arms, and, followed by some cavalry, rushed into the council chamber at Mary's Abbey, determined to avenge his father's death, flung down his sword, and renounced his allegiance to the king. The assembly was confounded. Cromer, the primate and chancellor, took the young lord by the hand, and, representing all the dangers which must accrue to his family from his rashness and folly, expostulated with him in the

most pathetic language. His followers heard with surprise what they fancied (from the energy and zeal of the primate) was an encomium on their young lord, for they were ignorant of the language; and a native bard commenced singing the praises of "Silken Thomas," as the young Geraldine was called, extolling his greatness, and calling him to the field. This show of affection had more power over his feelings than the sage advice of the prelate. He rushed forth to prepare for battle, and having gained a great number of followers, appeared at the gates of the city. The constable allowed the inhabitants to treat with Lord Thomas, the chief of his adversaries having taken refuge in the castle. Having committed the taking of the castle to the care of some of his adherents, Lord Thomas set out against the country of the Butlers. He took a castle belonging to the Earl of Ossory, but was eventually defeated. Archbishop Allen, the bitter enemy of the Geraldines, attempted to make his escape to England, but having embarked on board a vessel at Clontarf, it was stranded, and he was seized by some Geraldines, and dragged before Lord Thomas, who, seeing the prelate on his knees, exclaimed, "Away with the churl!"—when his caitiffs dragged him away and cut him to pieces. It is not probable that Lord Thomas meant him to be killed, for he was generally very lenient to his enemies.

Meanwhile the inhabitants of Dublin, under some pretext of broken faith, shut their gates, and many of those who belonged to the Geraldine party were

put to death. The citizens were encouraged by letters from England, and Lord Thomas, having made several unsuccessful efforts to gain an entrance, determined to blockade the city. He had just set fire to one of the gates, when the inhabitants rushed out, declaring that the royal army had arrived, upon which the Geraldine army fled, having determined to meet the English. Lord Thomas encountered and defeated them ; but more cavalry landing under the command of Sir William Skeffington, Lord Thomas retreated into Connaught. In the ensuing spring Maynooth Castle was betrayed into Skeffington's hands by the foster-brother of Lord Thomas. The English commander, in horror of his perfidy, first paying him the stipulated price, had him beheaded. After that Lord Thomas was reduced to a dreadful state of fear and wretchedness. At length he went into England, and was preparing to sue for mercy, when he was arrested and put in the Tower, when he had the mortification of hearing that his father had not been executed, but had sunk under the affliction of his son being a rebel. Henry, enraged at the recent rebellion, caused five uncles of Lord Thomas, although three of them had never joined in it, to be beheaded. Gerald, a youth of about twelve years, and brother of Lord Thomas, was rescued by an aunt who had married the chief O'Donnell, on the condition of saving the boy ; but she, finding that her husband was inclined to give him up, sent him to France, from whence he was obliged to fly into Flanders, where he was protected and educated by Cardinal Pole.

During the course of those events, Europe had been astonished by the successful progress of Luther and his doctrines. He was a monk, who, distinguished for great piety and learning, had intrepidly risen against the corruptions of Rome, and the various errors which had enshrouded the purity of the Christian religion in times of darkness. Boldly striking at the root of the pernicious system, he inveighed against the infallibility of the Pope and his dominion, and taught his disciples to renounce human authority, and take the Word of God as the standard of faith and duty. Several circumstances conspired to aid the new doctrine ; multitudes were converted, and Rome had received a serious wound before she had considered of the danger. In England, where the minds of men had suffered much from clerical usurpation, they were not unprepared for the new doctrines, and Henry became an instrument in the hands of Providence to introduce the Reformation into that kingdom. The king, after some time, being acknowledged head of the Church,* determined to put down monasteries, to restrain popular superstition, and give the Bible to the natives in the

* When we speak of the king as "head of the Church," the words, of course, are not to be understood as imputing to the monarch any spiritual authority, but only as expressing his temporal sovereignty in ecclesiastical matters, which, it must be remembered, cannot extend to those things which are peculiar to the Christian ministry. On this subject see Article XXXVII. of the XXXIX. Articles.

mother tongue. He also resolved to propagate the new doctrine in Ireland. George Brown, a learned and pious prelate, was accordingly promoted to the See of Dublin, and, with other commissioners, appointed to confer with the nobility and clergy. Some of Wickliffe's followers had been in Ireland, but the soil was unfruitful. No sooner had the commissioners of the king explained their instructions, and demanded an acknowledgment of his supremacy, than Cromer, Primate of Armagh, openly declared against such an attempt; he vowed that they had belonged to the See of Rome for all times, and enjoined the prelates of Ireland, by his authority, to resist all innovations in the Church, pronouncing, at the same time, a tremendous curse against those who should acknowledge the king's supremacy, and despatching emissaries to Rome to represent the dangerous state of the Church. Archbishop Brown laboured hard, but was treated outrageously by the zealots of the Romish party. He wrote to Lord Cromwell advising that as the Irish prelates were infatuated in their allegiance to Rome, the best way of gaining submission would be, to call a Parliament, and enforce by law the king's supremacy. This advice being approved, Lord Leonard Grey, now engaged in suppressing the refractory disturbances in Ireland, received orders to summon a Parliament, and declare the crown the head of the Church, which, however, when passed as a law, was violently opposed by the clergy. Several Acts were also passed by this Parliament.

Lord Leonard Grey had been endeavouring to put down many refractory lords ; and we see at this time that the powerful prince or chief of Leinster, Mac Art Mac Morrogh, was at peace with the king, who continued to him a pension, long before granted to his family, and made him his governor of the castle at Ferns. The great sept of the Butlers, now first among the gentry of the country, jealous of the favour shown to any but themselves, treated the deputy with disrespect, who, to avenge the slight, invaded their property, making himself powerful enemies. At this time Archbishop Brown had the utmost difficulty in counteracting the secret designs of Cromer and his party, who were determined to annihilate the Reformation in Ireland. He wrote several times to England, stating his fear that Roman emissaries would come to the assistance of the opposing party. Thus while the Reformed Bishop endeavoured to bring the clergy of the north to submission, the Romish party urged the great chiefs to take arms in defence of their religion. The Pope sent a deputation with incentives to O'Neill to urge him to uphold him. The friar who carried the message was seized, but it mattered little. By means of pretended prophecies to be fulfilled, and many superstitions, they succeeded in causing a general insurrection. The deputy, assisted by Sir William Brereton, set out to attack the rebels. They met at Ballahoe. At first the resistance was determined ; but Lord Grey, who was beloved by the soldiers, succeeded in driving

them from the field. The lord deputy thus ended his stay in Ireland, for he was immediately recalled to England, his enemies having succeeded in raising the suspicions of a jealous monarch. On his arrival, he was brought to trial, when, instead of pleading his long services, he, trusting in his own innocence of offence, flung himself on the mercy of a prince incapable of mercy, and was beheaded on a scaffold.

The death of this unfortunate lord left the Irish a new opportunity of revolt ; but Sir William Brereton, following the example of his predecessor, immediately took the field, and completely beat their forces. At length, becoming despondent, they submitted—gave many of their monasteries into the king's hands, and the greatest of the chiefs renounced the authority of Rome. Even the Earl of Desmond joined the king, and sent his young son to England to be educated. A Parliament convened, which declared Henry and his successors Kings of Ireland, which the people received with joy. After this O'Neill made full submission to the throne, renouncing the authority of Rome ; nay, all the chiefs of Ireland seemed to vie with each other in loyal submission. The Earl of Desmond was made a peer, and sat in the English Parliament, and many other peerages were conferred. Laws were immediately passed for the advantage of the subjects in general, and a number of commissioners were appointed to put the ancient laws of the people in execution in remote quarters of the island.

The people were thus taught to look to the Crown for redress of their wrongs. The great chiefs were urged to lay all their claims before the king, which many of them did. Mac William, a lord of Connaught, who had long lived independent of the king, was graciously received, and created Earl Clanrickard. O'Byrne was also received, and created Earl of Thomond and Baron Inchiquin. The great O'Neill soon after renounced his right of chief, and was created Earl of Tyrone. They all received presents from the king, and were made peers of the realm.

During this immense political change in the affairs of Ireland, it is not to be supposed that the reformation in religion stood still. Nearly the whole island had adopted the new creed. The possessors of religious houses, however, escaped notice, during the general commotion of the people in mind and manners. "And," says Sir John Davis, "the abbeys and religious houses in Tyrone, Tyrconnell, and Fermanagh, though they were dissolved in Henry's time, were never surveyed nor reduced to charge, but were continually possessed by religious persons until the time of James I." Nor could the French king succeed in making the Irish subjects rebel at this time. Henry was accompanied to Calais by many Irish, who fought for him with undaunted spirit. Thus, during the reign of a bad king, did Providence ordain that not only spiritual but political reform should take place in a country so long disturbed.

CHAPTER XI.

FROM 1547 TO 1558.

EDWARD VI.—MARY.

THE reign of Edward VI. affords little matter for an Irish historian (if such a word may be used). Sir Anthony St. Leger was opposed during his administration by the factious Butlers ; but, on being withdrawn for a time, Ormond, who replaced him, died (as it is said of poison given him at a feast at Ely House), and he was reinstated. O'Moore, of Leix, had about this time taken arms for some fancied injury. Bellingham, an experienced commander, with a thousand men, horse and foot, was instantly despatched to Ireland, the refractory lord's land ravaged, and castles built for the better protection of the Pale against similar outrage. O'Moore was committed to prison, and his lands forfeited, which prevented others following his rash example. Bellingham was knighted for his services. The friends of Rome still continued their secret practices, and having enflamed the zeal of two young lords of the family of FitzEustace, they contrived to entangle their father, the Viscount Baltinglass, in their wild and undigested schemes ; but the deputy, having discovered their rash plans, extinguished the flame, and pardoned the conspirators. The lieutenant, feeling that it would be advisable for some of the great chiefs to reside in Dublin,

went into Munster with a small train, and, surprising Desmond in his house, succeeded in inducing him, by kind and gentle expostulations, to reside in Dublin, where he endeavoured by every means to train him by example and instruction in the duties of social and political life. The effect was soon visible on the earl. Touched with the happy change in his condition, he adhered to the precepts he received, and offered daily prayers for his friend "the good Bellingham." The enemies of the deputy, however, soon succeeded in having him removed from the administration, when Sir Anthony St. Leger was again appointed.

The Reformation spread very slowly in Ireland, not having efficient preachers to uphold its tenets. Most of the clergy had abandoned their gowns, sooner than consent to the change of doctrines; and it being difficult to replace them immediately, the people were left without religious instruction. English prelates could not be found to speak their language. Thus Rome had an easy prey, and Henry, having appointed John Dowdall to the Primacy of Armagh, his devotion to Rome outweighed his gratitude either to his patron or the Throne. He treated the new liturgy with scorn, by which he said "any illiterate fellow might read Mass." St. Leger said that there were too many clergy that did not understand the language in which they prayed. Dowdall haughtily admonished him to beware of the curse of the Church. By him and his successors much mischief was worked

against the reformed creed, thus sowing in the minds of the natives the most bitter prejudices, which those appointed to carry on the Reformation did not remove. Under cover of the commands they had received to remove images and other instruments of popular superstition from the churches, they exposed everything of value for public sale. Irish annalists describe the garrison of Athlone as “issuing forth with heathen fury, pillaging the famous Church of Clonmacnois ; tearing away the most inoffensive ornaments—books, bells, plate, &c., so as to leave the shrine of St. Kierne a hideous monument of sacrilege.”

Dowdall, who had retired to St. Mary’s Abbey in contempt, receiving a letter from the deputy reminding him of his duty to his sovereign, and requesting him to appoint a place to come to a conference with his reformed brethren, he coldly accepted the deputy’s kindness, and met Staples, Bishop of Meath, in a disputation, which ended by both claiming the victory, and retiring more bitter in their hatred of each other. Soon after, Brown, who had been so active in the service of the Reformation, was made Primate of all Ireland, to the exclusion of Dowdall, who was so incensed that he fled to the Continent. John Bale, an active reformer, was, at this time, nominated to the See of Ossory. His determined spirit and immense learning would have been of infinite service to Ireland but for his temper, which was most unconciliatory.

Ireland was very peaceable at this period, the

great chieftains being all more or less subservient to England; but one factious lord did much to rouse up old animosities. The Earl of Tyrone, notwithstanding his late specious submissions, being proud of the power and splendour of his family, on retiring amongst his rude followers, felt his old partialities returning, and entered, at the instigation of his wife and sons, into open rebellion. On the first knowledge of the revolt, he was seized, and his son Shane, pretending the utmost resentment, made war against his brother, to whom he imputed the indignity offered to his father. He was assisted by a party of Scots who had landed in Ulster, and were glad of any employ. He suddenly attacked the enemy, ravaged the most flourishing district in the island, sacked his father's mansion, and spread desolation for miles round. The deputy endeavoured to put down this rebellion, but was defeated with disgrace.

On the death of Edward in 1553, the people of Ireland received orders to proclaim Mary, daughter of Henry VIII., as queen. In the first year of her reign, Mary re-established the Roman Church; and from this period we may reckon the restoration of the noble family of Kildare. The young Gerald, who had escaped the fury of Henry VIII., married the daughter of Sir Anthony Brown, knight, which gained him royal favour, and he was knighted and restored to part of his possessions. He returned to Ireland with the young Earl of Ormond, with whom he had been educated. About this time Charles

Kavanagh, head of the great Leinster chiefs (Mac Murroghs), was created a peer of the realm, by the title of Baron Balyan. Mary had appointed Dowdall Primate of all Ireland. The greater number of the reformed clergy had married, and therefore fled. Being appointed by Mary to look to this, Dowdall immediately proceeded to banish the whole of that sect, and to re-establish Romanism. A powerful body of Scotch islanders having at this time invaded the north, they were ready to engage with any chief who would employ them. They proceeded into Connaught, and succeeded in fomenting much local disturbance, when Sussex, then deputy, marched against and defeated them.

Mary, having married Philip of Spain, admitted Cardinal Pole into England as legate to reconcile her kingdom to the Holy See. The flames of persecution had already been kindled in England, when Sussex received an order to convene a Parliament in Dublin, in order to re-establish the ancient faith. The Lords and Commons assembled on the 1st of June, 1556. It mentioned the late separation of the island from the Church of Rome as the effect of fear, and pronounced a plenary absolution on all those concerned in the heresy. The Bull was read aloud by the Chancellor on his knees, when the assembly adjourned to the cathedral, and offered up thanks for the restoration of the community to the protection of Holy Church. In this reign Leix was first called the Queen's County, and its principal town Maryborough, and Offaly the King's County, and its

principal place Philipstown. The Chancellor was also empowered to view into the state of all waste lands and villages, and to reduce them to counties and shires. This Parliament also defined the meaning of a law passed long before, called Poyning's Law. It was by it enacted that no Parliament should be called in Ireland until the chief governors and council should certify to the Throne the causes and considerations necessitating such a step.

The upholders of the Reformation in Ireland were allowed to sink into obscurity, whilst such terrible persecutions were being carried on in England, to glut the vengeance of the offended Church. Many English families found a shelter in Ireland at this period. Shane (or John) O'Neill, of Tyrone, continued to disturb the country with his hostilities, and, on the death of his father, openly assumed the leading of his sept. By rude and boisterous valour he gained the esteem of the followers who flocked to his standard. Possessed of all the gross vices of savage life, and extreme pride of family, he pretended to hold English refinement in abhorrence. Irish annalists record an expedition of this rude chief which will give some idea of the Irish manners at that period.

Domestic dissensions having for some time raged in the family of Tyrconnell, the chief of the district, oppressed by the cruelty of a son who had detained him two years in prison, could but ill support the distinction or honour of his family. Hugh, another son, fled with his partizans to O'Neill, pressed him

to assist in humbling his family, and offered to give his own country thus into the hands of an enemy. John readily acquiesced in an expedition that exactly suited his taste, and, wasting the surrounding country, pitched his camp between two rivers in Tyrconnell, and denounced vengeance against his opposers. The first thought of the inhabitants was to drive their flock into the most inaccessible part of the country. "Let them drive their flocks," said O'Neill contemptuously, "into the midst of Leinster; let them hide them in the south; no power shall stop the progress of the prince of Ulster."

Calvagh, the son of Tyrconnell, determined, by his father's advice, to attack the camp at night, and two gallant youths offered to enter the midst of the enemy at dusk, and find out the disposition of the army. They passed his guards, mixed with his soldiers, traversed the camp, and, directed by a great blaze to the general's pavilion, entered, and saw John O'Neill surrounded by his body-guard of sixty Irish vassals, bearing battle-axes, and as many mercenary Scots. They then fled back to their companions, and, relating all they had seen, inflamed them with impatience for the onset. Even the old O'Donnell mounted his horse. They sallied forth, burst into the camp at midnight, and bore down all before them. John O'Neill fled, and only escaped by swimming rivers and traversing unknown ways. The whole army of Tyrone was dispersed, and the victors left to enjoy the riches of the camp.

Sussex had been called to England some time before this period, and Sir Henry Sidney, his successor, found sufficient occupation in regulating the affairs of the Pale. Several church ornaments were restored, and a few chiefs reconciled to the Government. Sussex, on his return, was called into Thomond to repress the violence of O'Bryan, who wished to dispossess the son of his brother. The sudden appearance of Sussex dispersed his followers, and the young Earl of Thomond was reinstated in his territory. He swore allegiance, and consented to hold it of the Crown. The Scotch invaders, who had been some time in the country, entered into the service of some turbulent chiefs in the west, but before they could raise any great disorder, were suddenly attacked by the Earl of Clanrickard, who defeated and pursued them almost to their total destruction, while Sussex avenged their outrages by a descent on the Scottish isles.

CHAPTER XII.

FROM 1558 TO 1603.

ELIZABETH.

ON the accession of Elizabeth to the throne, the Earl of Sussex was appointed Governor of Ireland. The country did not present a good prospect at this time; for O'Neill had again collected his followers,

and professed to be a free chief. Sir Henry Sidney—acting during Sussex's absence—was so alarmed by the accounts of this chief that he marched to Dundalk, and sent an order to O'Neill to appear before him. O'Neill, although swallowed up in a life of brutal excess, was keen and calculating ; therefore, to convince his followers of his power, and the deputy of his obedience, he sent a letter full of submission, evading the request of the deputy, and inviting him to visit his castle, and stand sponsor to his child. The plausibility of this letter was fully understood by the deputy ; but he thought it expedient to accept the invitation. He was regaled with rude magnificence, and found O'Neill prepared to justify his conduct. He said that his brother had no right to the estates, and that he had been chosen by his countrymen as their leader. And thus, as chief of Tyrone, he claimed the rights of his ancestors. With such cleverness did he argue, that when Sidney addressed himself to his councillors on the subject, they were silenced by his reasoning, and the deputy, informing him that the queen should be consulted, left him in great amity.

The queen's first act was to establish the reformed religion in Ireland. On the 11th of January, 1560, the Parliament met for that purpose. The whole ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Mary was reversed, although it met with much opposition. The queen was made head of the Church, the use of Common Prayer enacted as in England, the Priory of St. John of Jerusalem restored to the Crown,

and all grants made by the late prior repealed. Sussex was so much inflamed by the oppositions he met with that he repaired to the queen, entrusting the government to Sir William Fitzwilliam, a gentleman of inconsiderable power, and who could not enforce a law on a people whose religious prejudices opposed it. The Roman clergy inveighed against the queen, and many, who would not conform, lost their gowns. Reformed ministers could not be found to supply their places, which left the country in a state of religious ignorance, fully open to the under-plotters on the side of Rome.*

O'Neill, at the same time, continued to make war on the neighbouring lords, breathing forth detestation of the English. One of his followers being suspected of favouring them, was instantly hung up. Sussex, being ordered to subject him, set out

* The mistaken and infatuated policy of the English Government at this period contributed, in a very large degree, to hinder the progress of the reformed doctrines among the Irish. Laws were passed actually prohibiting the use of the native tongue in public worship, and ordering the services to be read in English instead, or, as the vast majority of the clergy did not understand English, directing Latin to be used as an alternative. The natural result of such absurd and mischievous legislation was that the Irish were filled with an almost invincible prejudice against a religion which was presented to them in a language which they neither liked nor understood; and, considering how long this extraordinary policy was persisted in, it is not to be wondered at that this unfortunate country has remained so long bound by the fetters of Romanism.

with a large force to attack his army ; but his kinsman, Kildare, having represented to him the folly of opposing the British Government, he surrendered, and promised to attend the queen, and tender her his allegiance, which (to be in accordance with his ideas of magnificence) he did, accompanied by a guard of galloglasses, arrayed in the richest habiliments of their country, armed with battle-axes, their heads bare, their hair flowing on their shoulders, and their linen vests, with long sleeves, dyed yellow, and covered by a short military harness. The people of England were astonished. The queen received him with favour, and he departed with many presents.

Some time afterwards, Sir Henry Sidney was again made deputy, and having filled that post with so much honour before, much was expected from his administration. O'Neill again had taken arms ; the deputy fortified Derry, thinking that this should check that turbulent chief. O'Neill's excursions were sudden, and very destructive. He burned the Church of Armagh, ravaged Fermanagh, and expelled the lord of that country. His fame spread rapidly. Sidney determined to put him down ; but he first sought the allegiance of other chiefs. Tyrconnell he reinstated in his possessions, and also the lord of Fermanagh. Thus did he secure many of the powerful neighbours of O'Neill, and, after a few months' war, was enabled to reduce him to the lowest extremities. One of his followers advised him to seek aid from the Scotch. Accordingly, he

sent an embassy to their general ; but they, having an enmity to O'Neill, were treacherously determined to get him into their power, invited him into their camp, and then, pretending to get up a brawl, murdered him and his unhappy attendants. Sidney, immediately on hearing of his death, marched into Tyrone, and being received with duty and obedience, nominated Torlogh O'Neill successor to the deceased earl, John's son being placed in confinement.

This did not end the Irish wars of the period, for Desmond (Gerald, Earl of) at this time had many litigations with his neighbours, more especially with Ormond, from whom he claimed lands and liberties. Ormond collected his followers and repelled the outrage. Desmond, being made prisoner, was carried off the field by the people of Ormond ; and as they bore him along on their shoulders, they exclaimed—"Where is now the great Earl of Desmond?" "Where, but in his proper place?" said he ; "still upon the necks of the Butlers." Having on a later occasion again disturbed the dominions of Ormond, the deputy commanded him to make reparation, which refusing, he was seized and imprisoned in the Tower, after being brought before the queen, together with his brother. From this time until the end of Elizabeth's reign the chiefs were in a continual state of rebellion. The Reformation, however, was making rapid progress.

About 1573, the Earl of Essex, a great favourite at the English Court, was induced to make an

expedition into Ireland, in order to place an English colony in the north. He set out, accompanied by the Lords Dacre and Rich, Sir Henry Knowles and his four brothers, and many other noblemen of distinction ; but being violently opposed on his landing, his noble associates withdrew. He then wrote to the queen, who was on the point of recalling him, when his enemies had him detained in Ireland.

The administration of Fitzwilliam had been disturbed by many insurrections ; but he had again received their submissions. Elizabeth again determined to entrust the country to the government of Sir Henry Sidney. He landed and made a circuit of the island, during which not a sword was drawn. After this, as Ireland had been a great burden to England, he thought it would be expedient to levy a certain tax on Ireland, in support of the revenue, which, the English Government approving, he put in execution, but was violently opposed by the Irish nobles, who sent a deputation to the queen to call for its removal. She heard them ; but in her letter to Sidney, she ordered all who should oppose the law to be imprisoned, and those who did not insist on the payment of the taxation to lose their offices. Notwithstanding this, the lords peremptorily refused to pay the tax, alleging its illegality. Sidney, weary of a tiresome government, without honour, and not being able to settle the disputes, besought the queen to remove him.

About this time an Irish adventurer, named Stukely, had fled to Spain, and after having there

succeeded in collecting about eighty Spaniards, by the influence of Philip of Spain, with whom he landed in Kerry, a ship of war, then in the harbour of Kinsale, fired the transports, thus depriving them of the means of escape. The Desmonds joined the insurgents, and we read that Henry Davels, a gentleman who had been a great friend to Desmond, was requested by the deputy to repair to Sir John Desmond, and seek his aid to put down the invaders, which he did; but not being able to win over Desmond, he returned to the deputy. Stopping in Tralee, the house in which he sojourned was entered by some ruffians, who appeared in his chamber with drawn swords. Davels started at the tumult, and, spying Sir John, exclaimed—"What, my son, is this brawl?" The hardened miscreant answered by drenching his sword in the blood of his benefactor, and, going from room to room, assassinated every one of his followers. The invaders were met by Sir Nicholas Malby, and routed at a place called Monasterevan.

Lord Grey was about this time—1581—appointed deputy. Hearing that a large body of enemies, headed by the O'Byrnes, were in the valleys of Glendalough and Glenmalure, he marched a large army against them. On arriving at the valley, the veteran soldiers, fearing to enter its deep, woody pass, expostulated with Lord Grey; but he desired them to enter, standing at the same time on a height to watch their march down the defile. The moment they passed between the hills which form

the vale of Glenmalure, the people of O'Byrne sprung from their ambush and totally annihilated the whole troop. Not one of them remained to leave the spot. Lord Grey returned to town, covered with dishonour.

This mortification was immediately followed by news of an alarming nature from the south. Philip of Spain was known to be preparing to invade Ireland, and Admiral Winter had been placed on the coast of Kerry to prevent his descent; but being obliged to return home for provisions, seven hundred Spaniards had landed at Limerick during his absence. They built a fort, and sent emissaries to Spain to hasten others to their assistance. The Earl of Ormond, who commanded in Munster, marched against the invaders; but they, finding his troops were few, abandoned the woods, where they first sought shelter, and by sallies from their fort, obliged him to withdraw his army. Grey soon appeared at the head of eight hundred men, and Sir William Winter returned with his fleet. Having called on the foreigners to surrender, which they refused to do, he commenced an attack on the fort. After some time, they submitted, but were rigorously denied money; some of the chiefs were made prisoners of war; but the garrison was butchered in cold blood, and this horrible service was committed to Sir Walter Raleigh. Elizabeth received the news of this horrid act with anger. To make matters worse, it was represented abroad to have been committed by Grey, after his having agreed on a treaty to let them pass unmolested to Spain.

Gerald, Earl of Desmond, who many times had joined the rebels, had at length a price set on his head; he eluded pursuit for a long time, until the Earl of Ormond pierced into the woods with indefatigable zeal, and hunted him from bog to bog, until at length his followers were reduced to a few galloglasses. They went out one day and stole a cow for his use, when, being followed by Kelly, an Irish soldier, they fled. On entering a ruined hovel, he saw an old man lying before the fire, who started up at sight of a stranger, exclaiming—"Spare me, for I am the Earl of Desmond." Kelly instantly smote off his head, and it was sent by Ormond to London, and placed on London Bridge. Thus ended a race which had flourished for two centuries, and a man who had led a life of infatuated insurrection without once being able to benefit his country.

The government of Ireland was now committed to Sir John Perrott, who came to be beloved for his justice and impartiality. He published a general amnesty, and appointed sheriffs to the counties Clare, Galway, Sligo, Mayo, Roscommon, and Leitrim, under the superintendence of Sir Richard Bingham. Crowds flocked to the deputy with their submission, and he prevailed on them to consent to an assessment whereby they might keep eleven thousand troops without expense to the queen; which astonished members of the Cabinet who had advised him against it. Chiefs had their causes judged in English courts, and felt much pleased. In the midst of Perrott's cares, his enemies found

means to poison the queen's ear against him ; but his great services were fully known by Elizabeth, and, therefore, he was left in the administration which he so faithfully fulfilled.

Every obstacle having disappeared which had hindered the queen from putting her favourite project (of repeopling Munster) in execution, estates were offered for very trifling rents to younger sons, to induce them to settle in Munster ; garrisons were to be placed near the settlements for their protection. At this time, Sir Walter Raleigh, among other nobles, received grants of land ; but these great men did not keep to the letter of their tenure, but let their lands to disorderly persons, thus increasing distractions which already disturbed the country. The overbearing and turbulent De Burghs rose at this time, and were put down, after some difficulty, by the deputy, Bingham having been unable to do so unaided.

Among the great northern lords, Hugh O'Neill also became factious about this time, after having received his territories from the queen by artful submission. Scarcely had a knowledge of his defalcations reached the ears of the deputy, when he heard that the great chief of Tyrconnell was also in open war. Being unsupported by a military force capable of putting down a great rebellion, he was induced to resort to stratagem, which one act is all that ever tarnished Sir John Perrott's administration. But when it is considered that he was not left a sufficient force to protect the queen's

interest, it is more excusable. A Dublin merchant was instructed to lade a ship with Spanish wine, to sail to Lough Swilly, and invite O'Donnell, chief of Tyrconnell, or his son, on board to inspect and try the wine. Immediately on securing their persons, he was to sail for Dublin with the conquered. The pretended merchant did as he was ordered, and O'Donnell's eldest son, Hugh Roe, was carried captive to Dublin, and imprisoned for a long time in the jail.

This good man's administration drew near a close. He wrote to Elizabeth, soliciting a removal, to which she agreed. Before Perrott left, he called all the chiefs together, and received their tenders of loyalty; then, handing the sword to Sir William Fitzwilliam, he said, "I leave the country in peace." The warm and affectionate people followed him to the shore, and old Turlogh O'Neill wept bitterly as the vessel bore him from his sight.

When Sir William Fitzwilliam assumed the reins of government, Connaught was governed by Sir Richard Bingham, and Munster by Sir Thomas Norris. The northern provinces were at this time in an unsettled state, and Fitzwilliam did not seek to pacify it. For no visible provocation, save the breach of a law, committed before that law was enacted, he seized the chief MacMahon, and, to the great astonishment of the country at large, executed him two days after. This was all that the northern chiefs required to induce them to declare open rebellion. The young chief O'Donnell married a

daughter of Tyrone, and this strengthened the tie between these great families. At the same time Sir Henry Bagenal's sister married O'Neill, which enraged her brother, who accused O'Neill of winning her affections, and marrying her, his former wife being alive. O'Neill said she married him by her free-will, and that his wife being divorced, he was free also to act as he pleased.

In 1591 a college was founded in Dublin by charter. The queen had been solicited, and granted her royal permission and power to hold lands to the amount of £500 per annum. It was called "The College of the Holy and Undivided Trinity, of Queen Elizabeth, near Dublin." It was erected on the site of the Monastery of All Hallows, built by Dermot Mac Murrough, King of Leinster. The first Provost was Adam Loftus, Archbishop of Dublin, and the Fellows were, Henry Ussher, Lucas Challoner, and Lancelot Moyne. Cecil, Lord Burleigh, was first Chancellor.

O'Donnell and Tyrone in the next year declared war with the queen. Leaving Ormond in Leinster, the deputy set out to put down the northern insurgents, but arrived too late; the English troops had met a total defeat from O'Donnell; the garrison of Fermanagh had surrendered and been cut to pieces by the Irish. O'Donnell then placed De Burgh, his associate, at the head of his sept. Tyrone at the same time attacked the fort at Blackwater; then sought to seduce Kildare from his allegiance; sent messengers to Spain for assistance, and, at the

very same time, professed to the deputy to be a loyal subject. The disaffection of these lords had a great power over the southern chiefs, who rose also, and caused Sir H. Bagenal much trouble. Norris marched with the deputy against Tyrone, who fled before him, after firing the town of Dunganannon. Winter, however, being on the approach, O'Neill sought to gain time by professing repentance; and while he was training all his people to arms, and sowing the seeds of disaffection throughout the land, he succeeded in keeping the queen's troops quiet. Lord Burgh was appointed about this time to the chief command of the army. Hearing that the insurgents were at Armagh, he resolutely marched into Ulster and attacked them in their entrenchments. A desperate engagement ensued; Lord Burgh was killed. The Earl of Ormond was appointed general of the army in his stead. O'Neill again had recourse to deception to lull the suspicions of the government. Directly afterwards, however, the northerns gained a great victory over the queen's troops at the Blackwater; O'Neill was extolled by the Irish, and, in fact, the whole country was in rebellion.

The Earl of Essex, an imprudent young man, was appointed deputy. All his conduct whilst in Ireland was antagonistic to the queen's interest. She wrote to him in an angry strain. He was recalled, and the Earl of Ormond created deputy of the army, and Lord Mountjoy lord lieutenant. They conducted the war against O'Neill very successfully for

a long time. It would be useless to trace all the famine and desolation caused by this war of the O'Neills and the Spaniards who came to the assistance of the rebels. After many years of turmoil, the whole island was subdued, and O'Neill forgiven. He is said to have gone on his knees for pardon, and to have wept on hearing that Queen Elizabeth had died.

CHAPTER XIII.

FROM 1603 TO 1649.

JAMES I.—CHARLES I.

THE incessant care and diligence of the Roman emissaries had succeeded in propagating their doctrines to a great extent in Ireland. If the laws were put into execution against rebels, they inveighed against the horrid and unchristian persecution; if government indulged them with lenity, they derided its temporising policy, thus spreading religious disaffection through the country. Mountjoy, in order to quiet their disorders, first marched to Waterford. On his arrival, he found the gates shut against him. The citizens pleaded that, by charter of King John, they were exempt from quartering soldiers. Two priests, carrying crosses before them, and dressed in the habit of their orders, came to the deputy's camp, and declared that the

citizens of Waterford could not obey any prince who persecuted the Catholic faith. The deputy condescended to listen to them, but treated the citizens with severity. He said he should draw the sword of King James, and cut the charter of King John to pieces, and level the city to the ground. The inhabitants immediately admitted him and swore allegiance. He was also admitted into Cashel, Clonmel, and Limerick.

After the restoration of public peace, the deputy commenced an extension of the laws. Sheriffs were sent into Tyrone and Tyrconnell, and judges visited all the northern towns; with this procedure the people were much pleased. They soon found the difference between this just government and that they had formerly submitted to, and James granted a commission of grace, which was to secure Irish people in their property. The chief governor was empowered to receive the submission of all Irish lords or commoners, and grant them new and lawful titles. Many embraced this opportunity of establishing and substantiating their claims to estates for their children. The lord, by his new patent, was secured in the land in his immediate possession, and his followers confirmed in their tenures on condition of paying an annual rent. The commercial towns soon followed the example of the city, thus advancing the state of commerce and civilization in the country. The Popish clergy at this time had gained a great ascendancy in Ireland; monasteries were rebuilt, churches repaired, and their

rites performed, although this was contrary to law. James, although he might be a little lenient to their doctrines, could not abide Papal power ; therefore an edict was passed commanding all Popish clergy either to conform to the established rule, or depart within a given time. Instead, however, of being alarmed, they rose against the decree, and were, with many persons connected with them, put in custody. The lords of the Pale pertinaciously opposed the decree.

About this time a letter was dropped in the privy council chamber, importing that O'Neill and O'Donnell had again commenced a revolt, and, on the Government accusing them, they immediately fled to the Continent. Nothing could please James more than the flight of those rash northerners ; he immediately sent agents into Ulster to seize on their lands, and had several conspirators condemned and executed, and the chiefs O'Neill and O'Donnell outlawed. But the scheme of settling the north was for a time frustrated by the insurrection of Sir Cahir O'Dogherty. He gained admission into the fort Culmore, and massacred the garrison ; also into that of Derry, where the inhabitants were put to the sword, with their commander Paulet, and the town plundered and burned to the ground. Wingfield, marshal in the army, marched against and at length killed the rebel leader. Much land was forfeited, and, therefore, accrued to the Crown by this insurrection. James applied to Sir Arthur Chichester, deputy of Ireland, as to the manner of

settling those provinces most for the good of the country, which advice he gave in the most clear and liberal manner. The land was surveyed and divided, the chiefs treated kindly, and much good order established. The Irish, who had lived in mountains inaccessible and fortified, were granted lands in open country, and the British settlers were granted places of greater strength, thus adding a new protection to the property of the Crown. Still religious disaffection disturbed the tranquillity of the country. A Parliament was convened, which, although tumultuous at first, was at length quieted, and passed laws attainting all rebellious subjects.

A Convocation was held for the regulating of the Church. A great number of articles were formed by Dr. James Ussher, and were received by the assembly as a confession of faith. Some of this learned man's enemies endeavoured to prejudice the king against him; but James esteemed his piety, and soon after made him Bishop of Meath. Chichester was succeeded in the government by Sir Oliver St. John. The people, however, taking an inveterate dislike to him, he was soon after replaced by Lord Falkland. Ussher preached before him on his arrival, and used strong arguments against the rising power of the Romanists, which gained him much ill-will from their party. It was an age of adventure. Some adventurers, without spirit to go to distant countries in search of fortune, came to Ireland, looked over old books and deeds, found flaws in titles to properties, and, in many

instances, succeeded in obtaining them. Yet that country, so used to ignite at a word, was so fearful of the dreadful consequences that attended O'Neill's rebellion, that it remained peaceable and submissive. Yet the deputy had little power.

When Charles came to the throne in 1625, a Bull was circulated through Ireland by the Pope's emissaries, enjoining the natives to die sooner than support a prince opposed to the holy Catholic faith, which caused much disaffection. In order to keep a sufficient number of troops in Ireland, Charles ordered them to be quartered on the inhabitants, which injustice they submitted to, hoping to gain thereby some privileges from the king. The Scotch clergy in Ireland made great progress in reformation. The Archbishop of Armagh was indefatigable in the cause, and, with the other bishops, joined in a protestation against Popery. For the better care of the people, pluralities of livings were not to be granted; all incumbents were to be compelled to preach, and, if of extensive rectories, to keep ministers to preach in chapels of ease. By the charter of graces, granted by Charles, many other Acts also were confirmed, and free trade in many necessary commodities to and from Ireland established; but Strafford, being made lord deputy, held back the graces granted before his accession, and although he did services to Ireland in encouraging the linen trade and popular instruction, he did infinite mischief also.

The people, enraged at the king's seeming

insincerity, the violent proceedings of Strafford, the menaces of the Puritan party, then rising in power—which showed signs of a warfare in England—determined that this was the time for a great struggle for national liberty. The Irish who had fled long since from Ireland, were in Spain, having been received there with great respect, and advanced in the Spanish army. The Earl of Tyrone was dead; but his son held a high place in the Spanish army, and was well disposed to assert his father's rights in Ireland. He was assisted in this plan by the descendant of the O'Moores of Leix, who had been also outlawed. O'Moore immediately proceeded to Ireland, and, on his arrival, found everything in a better state than he expected for his reception. Strafford had fallen a victim to an ungrateful prince, and no efficient hand remained to uphold the king's interests. O'Moore, with the assistance of the natives who favoured him, soon succeeded in rousing the northern chiefs to a sense of injuries received. The people, who had been expelled in James's time, were ready for a revolt, and O'Neill having died in Spain, the whole war fell on Roger O'Moore, assisted by Sir Phelim O'Neill, a relative of the deceased lord. The day at length arrived which they had appointed for a simultaneous rising. O'Moore was to seize Dublin Castle, Sir Phelim O'Neill heading the chief country force. Roger O'Moore descended on Dublin; but the deputy, having heard of the rebellion, succeeded in compelling him to retreat. Sir Phelim, more fortunate,

had captured Lord Caulfield, going to dine with him on a friendly invitation, and seized him at his table, while his people, who were stationed without, on a given sign, fell upon and killed nearly the whole garrison, while another party of his people had taken possession of the Castle of Mountjoy. Fermanagh was attacked by Roger Maguire, and many awful depredations committed in Monaghan. The Castle of Lord Blany was surprised, and his family made prisoners.

On the 5th of November, Sir Phelim O'Neill produced a parchment pretended to have been received from the king, authorising him in all his outrages. When the English Parliament heard of the rebellion, they immediately ordered £200,000 for the equipment of an army for putting it down. After this the rebels were beaten by Sir George Rawdon, when, in their retreat, they killed hundreds of English Protestants at Armagh, Portadown, &c. Amongst the victims was Lord Caulfield, who had been seized and kept prisoner by Sir Phelim O'Neill. Many of his tenants met a similar fate. These dreadful massacres were not left unrevenged. Dreadful to relate, the soldiers from the garrison at Carrickfergus sallied out and slaughtered many unoffending Roman Catholics in their neighbourhood. The country was in such a dreadful state that the metropolis was crowded by unfortunate fugitives who fled from the sword of the assassin.

The approach of the insurgents towards the capital, however, obliged the governors to take some

steps for their opposition. The Earl of Ormond was appointed governor of the army, and Sir J. Coote of Dublin. A detachment of four hundred and sixty men was immediately sent to Drogheda, but were met on the road and cut off nearly to a man. The Pale at this time joined the confederates, under pretence of supporting the king's rights. They had besieged Drogheda, and the whole nation was watching the results. The town was defended by Sir H. Tighbourne and Lord Moore, who were indefatigable in fortifying it. On the 3rd of December Sir Henry sallied out with five hundred men to obtain a supply of corn, and defeated some rebels who attempted to prevent their doing so. When the town was called on by the rebels to surrender, they answered that they would defend it to death. In Dublin, MacMahon was put to the rack to extract facts relative to the insurgents; but this barbarous cruelty produced no good effects. The Earl of Ormond was at this time sent against Naas, and, notwithstanding his lenity and kindness, was charged with cruelty by Lord Gormanstown, who had his (Ormond's) wife and children then in his power, and threatened them with his revenge. Ormond replied with the noble spirit that spoke in every word of that great man—"My wife and children are in your power; but if you ill-use them, I shall not be so unmanly as to avenge the injury on women or children." The rebels soon after abandoned Drogheda, when Sir Henry Tighbourne marched to Dundalk, and succeeded in capturing

the town. In November the rebellion broke out in Tipperary; many of the insurgents were captured by Lord Mountgarret; the Wexford insurgents, at the same time, having entered the English settlement, they were routed by Sir William St. Leger, and seventy, who were taken prisoners, were executed according to martial law.

Every part of the country was in rebellion, and Limerick, which had defied rebellion for four hundred years, was taken by the rebels. Ormond fought a desperate battle with a few battalions against an immense insurgent army, at Kilrush, and defeated them. About this time a singular instance of heroism occurred. Letitia, Lady Offaly, granddaughter to the Earl of Desmond, and widow of Sir Robert Digby, closed her castle of Geashill against the rebels, though now in her sixty-fourth year; and when they ordered her to surrender, or not a soul would be spared, she answered that she had injured none of them, therefore she should die innocently, and that their threats did not a whit dismay her. At the same time a barbarous massacre of a hundred Protestants took place at the Bridge of Shruel. In July, O'Connor Don, the lineal descendant of Roderick O'Connor, last king of Ireland, had raised such a large troop in Connaught that the deputy was obliged to take the field against him, and defeated his troops at Ballintober. About this time also Dr. Bedell, Bishop of Kilmore, died from long imprisonment, in the seventieth year of his age; yet he was so beloved for his exemplary

life that the Irish chiefs attended his burial, fired a volley in honour over his grave, and a Romish priest exclaimed at his grave—"Would to God my soul were with Bedell's!"

It would be useless to detail the multiplicity of misfortunes attendant on this rebellion; from north to south, scarcely a town or a garrison but suffered from the blood-thirsty war. England, tottering on the brink of a revolution, sent little aid to Ireland. The Earl of Ormond, who still clung to the unfortunate Charles, could not gain proper authority to put down the rebels, so that they were allowed for years to desolate their unfortunate country. Two of their leaders were tried in 1644, and executed at Tyburn. At length the Marquis of Ormond undertook to negotiate a treaty for the pacification of Ireland; but it was a difficult matter, as the confederates were preparing troops. The Earl of Castlehaven had reduced Cappoquin and other places in Munster. Charles, weak and timid at this time, sent a Roman Catholic, Lord Glamorgan, into Ireland, with power to enter into any treaty he thought proper, and, at the same time, was weak enough to declare that the Pope's delegate in Ireland might also act with him. Glamorgan, on landing, joined the rebels, and, at Sligo, was present at the massacre of many Protestants, and, amongst them, the Archbishop and several clergy. Lord Digby, arriving at the same time from Oxford, to assist at the negotiations, accused Glamorgan of treason, and had him tried; but he was allowed to remain out

on bail. The council were shocked on finding out the meanness of the king, and his enemies gained another advantage over the weak monarch. The Pope's nuncio, Rinucini, at the same time openly produced a bill, said to have been formed by the Pope against any treaty, and extending the most extravagant protection to the Romish Church. The council, however, adhered to their treaty with Ormond; but he was now unable to serve the king, who was imprisoned by the Scots, and this event, which some time before might have quieted the kingdom, only rendered it more rebellious. The treaty was equally abhorred by parliamentarians and Romanists. The nuncio exhorted the people to look to the Pope as their head. O'Neill joined him because the late treaty made no provision for those aggrieved by forfeiture.

About the end of May, 1646, this chief (Owen O'Neill) marched to Armagh, at the head of five thousand foot and five hundred horse. Hearing that the Scotch commander of the English army (Munro) was stationed within two miles of the city, O'Neill encamped his troops at Benburb, his army protected on either side by a wood and the river Blackwater. Munro marched to attack him on the 5th of June. He had ordered his brother to hasten with a regiment to his assistance; but O'Neill, having learned of their approach, despatched a detachment to intercept them. O'Neill at first only met the enemy in light skirmishes; but when the sun, at first favourable to Munro, commenced set-

ting in the rear of the Irish, falling disagreeably on the enemy's line, and the troops sent to intercept Munro's brother being seen returning by the English, and their commander seeming to be disconcerted, and to intend a retreat, O'Neill, following up his advantage, immediately attacked them with the most determined valour. Lord Baymy, at the head of his regiment, fought to the death, and was, with his gallant soldiers, cut to pieces. The English met a total defeat. Lord Montgomery, twenty-one officers, and many soldiers were taken prisoners. It was a great victory, though of little use either to O'Neill or his country. He died of poison a few years after. This victory caused much disturbance in the south; the Protestants were driven out of Wexford, and the nuncio excommunicated at Waterford all who had acted under the late treaty, entered Kilkenny in triumph, and, joining O'Neill, marched towards the city at the head of eighteen hundred men.

The Marquis of Ormond having been sent to see and appease the nuncio, and failing in the attempt, was now busily engaged in preparing Dublin for its defence against the rebels; and to encourage the inhabitants, the Marchioness of Ormond and many ladies of rank were seen carrying baskets of earth to the fortifications. The deputy felt his case desperate. He had mortgaged his estates for £23,000, all which he spent in the service of the State. He had no troops; so he reluctantly sent to the English Parliament to submit to their authority,

before the end of the ensuing month, giving up the city, they insuring him the money spent in the king's service. He delivered it accordingly to the Parliament, departed for Bristol on the 16th of July, and retired to France.

Many regarded the departure of Ormond with much sorrow and fear. Colonel Michael Jones, now Governor of Dublin, was a brave soldier, and determined to fight the Roman Catholic army commanded by Preston. Accordingly, he marched towards Trim, which, when Preston heard, he hastened to attack Dublin in his absence, but was overtaken, and, being joined by Sir H. Tighbourne and two thousand men, Jones burst on the Irish and totally routed them, leaving five thousand of their army dead on the field. Lord Inchiquin, having received supplies from England, took the field, and, after taking all the forts in Cork and Waterford, entered Tipperary, and took a fort at Cashel, where some Roman Catholic priests were slaughtered, which made that party furious. After this there was a desperate battle fought near Mallow, in which four thousand of the Irish army were killed, and all their baggage taken by the English, who also suffered considerably. Lord Inchiquin at this time, becoming disgusted with the Parliament, wrote to Ormond, requesting his return. Many liberal lords declared that they would support the king, notwithstanding the nuncio's threats of excommunication. The council and all the prelates joined Inchiquin, and the last resort of the nuncio, Galway, was obliged to surrender. News came from France of

Ormond's determination to join them, and try to restore tranquillity; the council, hearing which, declared O'Neill a traitor, and forbade all Catholics from holding any communication with Rinucini.

The Marquis of Ormond soon after arrived, and publicly declared his intention of upholding the king's rights against all factions, and particularly the English Parliament. Ormond was received with delight by Catholics and Protestants. The sorrowful state of the king put an end to faction, and a treaty was signed, even by the Popish clergy, ordering peace through the kingdom, and the nuncio departed in despair. In this treaty all penal laws only affecting Roman Catholics were repealed, and they were allowed free exercise of their religion, until the king's pleasure should be declared. Only a few days after this treaty, intelligence arrived of the king's tragical end, to which the venerable archbishop was a sorrowful witness. He had been one of the first scholars of Trinity College, and afterwards he was raised to the dignity of Primate of all Ireland. He still retained his character of simple and Christian piety; he wrote many books, which are yet prized by all lovers of divine truth. When the rebellion broke out, he was in London, and remained there, or in the neighbouring counties, until his death. Going over with his daughter, Lady Tyrrell, to Wales, he was robbed of many valuables, but, above all, his manuscripts, which, as he said himself in great sorrow, he had been twenty years collecting. They were, however, restored, after some search being made by his friends.

CHAPTER XIV.

FROM 1649 TO 1660.

THE COMMONWEALTH.

ORMOND, on taking the reins of government, immediately declared Charles II. king. He determined to support him with all his might; but Parliamentary forces poured into Dublin, and a death-blow was given to his hopes by the English Parliament determining to send Oliver Cromwell into Ireland at the head of an army. His great military talents had raised him to the head of the Commonwealth, and Ormond, therefore, considered him a formidable rival. Cromwell had just landed at Dublin, when he heard of Ormond's defeat at Rathmines. The people received him with joy. He addressed them warmly, promising to restore their liberties and rights, and was greeted with applause. Ormond fortified Drogheda, which Cromwell attacked, and commanded to surrender, which the brave garrison refused, and, after three days, when he succeeded in entering, they disputed every corner with him, and, at length, having entered a church, a hundred of them were blown up in it, and the remainder of the garrison murdered in cold blood, among whom were Sir Arthur Ashton, the governor, Sir Edward Verney, &c. He soon after marched to Wicklow at the head of four thousand men, and compelled all the castles from Dublin to Wexford to submit.

When he appeared before that city, the citizens determined to resist, when, to their astonishment, their governor gave up the town. They quitted the walls in confusion, and everyone found in arms was murdered by Cromwell. So terrified was the country, that, for miles round, the people forsook Ormond, and declared in favour of this monster. Ormond hastened to proceed against him, and fortify Waterford. Cromwell, however, arrived first, and got possession of a fort called Passage, which, being a very advantageous post, the governor had marched out to endeavour to recover when Ormond arrived ; but, strange to say, they refused his assistance, and he retired in disgust. The siege, however, becoming desperate, they were obliged to seek the aid they had refused. The Marquis once more arrived, and Cromwell, whose army had suffered much, determined to give up the siege. Ormond, deserted on all sides, was obliged to disperse his army.

Cromwell, in the meantime, had compelled all the neighbouring castles to yield him submission and tribute, at the cost of much bloodshed. The Castle of Don Isle was the first castle that stood out against his rapacious force. It was a place of great strength, situated on a rock near the sea, and owned, at that time, by the Countess of Don Isle, a branch of the Le Poer family. It is a favourite topic amongst the people of that neighbourhood still ; they will point out the slab which marks this heroic woman's tomb. She determined to keep

her castle, and went from rampart to rampart urging her men to bravery. Cromwell, it is said, was retiring from the walls, when her castle was betrayed, and the countess and her garrison put to the sword. After taking many other towns, he marched to Clonmel, where he met a stout resistance. The garrison, consisting of twelve hundred men, was headed by Hugh O'Neill, a clever officer. Finding that he could not gain the city by assaults, Cromwell besieged it with a blockade, determined to starve them into submission; but, notwithstanding, he had to solicit the assistance of Lord Broghill, who succeeded in entering the town: but they were obliged to grant honourable terms, and soon after Cromwell embarked for England.

General Ireton was left in chief command of the Parliamentary troops in Ireland. His first step was to blockade Waterford, which he captured at length by the daring of two brothers called Croker, who set fire to the western suburbs of the city, and succeeded in alarming the inhabitants; then forcing the walls, and putting the garrison to the sword, they opened the gates of the city. Bishop Mac Mahon, the Roman Catholic leader, whom the people had elected instead of O'Neill, marched against Sir Charles Coote, the Parliamentary general, who fought him at Skirfolas, near Enniskillen, and completely routed the Catholic army. Major O'Cahan and fifteen hundred men were killed upon the spot. The remainder were pursued to Enniskillen, and the bishop's head, with many

more, stuck upon the walls of Derry. One year before, Sir Charles Coote had been the friend and associate of those unfortunate people, which shows how fraught those times were with vicissitudes.

The whole island had surrendered into the hands of the Parliamentarians. It is astonishing how the people of that country should have ill-used their best friends, "with incorrigible blindness," says Leland, "contending against their own advantage, and rejecting every measure necessary to their own interests." Never did a people suffer greater misfortunes through their obstinacy and disunion. Famine and the sword left the kingdom half depopulated. The first act of the Parliament was to confiscate property, and have the traitors tried. Sir Phelim O'Neill, who had been the head of the war in 1641, was condemned, but hopes held out to him if he should acknowledge that rebellion to have been authorised by the unfortunate Charles; but, dark as his career had been, he denied it, saying: "I showed you a commission which I affixed a seal to; I found it in Castle Charlemont. I thank you for your mercy, but declare that the king never commanded me to levy troops or make war."

Henry Cromwell was appointed Governor of Ireland, and his father Protector of England, much to the dissatisfaction of the people. His son, however, governed Ireland with much equity, until the king's proclamation was received, when Charles II. was proclaimed king all over Ireland. Cromwell's first plan for the legislative settlement of Ireland

was the establishment of a union of the three kingdoms into one great nation, and in that Parliament Ireland was to be represented by thirty members, which unity of law might have done much good for Ireland ; but the restoration of Charles put an end to this scheme. Some of the soldiers in Cromwell's army purchased the library of Primate Ussher, containing most valuable manuscripts and ancient writings, which afterwards were granted to Trinity College, to which place it is likely (had he had the gift of them) he would have given them.

England, after the death of Cromwell, became sick of democracy. The minds of her nobles were decidedly aristocratic ; the people like a commotion for change's sake, but "if one evil," they say, "must remain, we are decidedly for royalty." They think it glorious to uphold the rulers of a great kingdom ; therefore they who had been the most bitter partizans of democracy, on Cromwell's death, declared for the king ; and those who had slaughtered the faithful Ormond's troops, and dyed their hands with the blood of royalty, were most forward in their professions of loyalty to the throne, and were by the king rewarded with titles and estates. Such things often occur in the world, and remind us, if we do good, it must be for the sake of good itself.

CHAPTER XV.

FROM 1660 TO 1689.

CHARLES II.—JAMES II.

ON the accession of Charles to the throne, he received those men mentioned in the last chapter as friends. He was a careless man, indolent, and too passive to either bear much love or hate. His stay in this time of anxiety was the Marquis of Ormond, the tried friend of his family, whom he created Lord Deputy of Ireland, and who did his utmost to quell the scarcely extinguished embers of dissatisfaction. But Buckingham and other members of the English Cabinet, jealous of his fame, had succeeded in obtaining his withdrawal from that office. Several noblemen succeeded him, one after another, until, the disorders of the country increasing, he was again deputed. While in London Ormond painfully felt the old maxim relative to the Stuarts—"They neither reward friends nor foes according to their deserts." The king treated him with evident neglect. The duke was assaulted by an assassin; but when he had been taken up, and brought before the council, he was pardoned by the king. The duke took no notice of this unkindness; but his son, the brave and noble-minded Lord Ossory, suspected the Duke of Buckingham of this treachery; and, seeing him standing near the king, approached, and, looking at him with indignant passion, said, "My Lord, I sus-

pect you are at the bottom of this ; remember, if my father comes to an untimely end, I shall consider you as his assassin, and shall pistol you though you stand behind the chair of the king." The duke still continued to remain at court, and though the king treated him coldly, he was permitted to speak his mind freely. Charles, however, seeing the state in which Ireland continued, sent one day for Ormond, and very confidentially told him of his intention of sending him again into that country. So in August, 1677, Ormond again landed in Ireland, and commenced a series of alterations for the good of the country and constitution, when he was informed of a conspiracy, called the Popish Plot, and desired to force the Roman Catholics to lay down arms, and their priests to quit the country. All those proceedings he conducted with much temper and justice ; not one person suffered in Ireland but Doctor Plunket, Roman Catholic Bishop of Armagh, who was accused by some base friars, whom he had censured for immoralities, and executed at Tyburn for treason.

Charles, about this time, granted Ireland the privileges of trading with all foreign countries, and Ormond pursued a steady course of improvement. He imported some foreigners, skilled in linen and woollen manufacture, into the counties Tipperary, Dublin, and Clare, for the improvement of those articles. Notwithstanding all the rumours of conspiracies, the duke held the reins of government with justice and moderation. The great peace-

disturbers thought the death of Plunket would raise a combustion in Ireland; but the duke was aware of their designs, and acted so much to the gratification of the people that horror was the only sentiment felt. About this time the young Lord Ossory died, which was a heavy calamity to the duke. He was a noble, brave, and generous youth, universally beloved in his native land. The king, who never sought to know the real motive of the Popish Plot, took no notice of the unfortunate victims of it. Yet, although no virtuous intent could have been meant, the seeds of the feeling then alive in England kept down the overbearing Stuarts, and were the means which, from link to link, at length moved the spirit of patriotism that placed William III. on the throne.

On the death of Charles, James II. ascended the throne an avowed Roman Catholic, and with the determination to undo all that had been done for centuries. For this reason the Duke of Ormond was removed from Ireland; he took no further part in politics, and died at Kingston Hall, Dorsetshire, July, 1688. He was replaced by Primate Boyle and the Earl of Granard, who with much prudence succeeded in keeping peace, notwithstanding the exultation of the Roman Catholics, and the fear of the Protestants, who heard reports of a general massacre. Lord Clarendon was soon after appointed governor, and found the country in a great commotion, from the atrocities committed by a set of banditti, called Tories, who had infested the moun-

tains since the late wars, and now committed their depredations on the defenceless Protestants, and were not punished. He was ordered to give the country into the hands of the priesthood, deputing Tyrconnell, a Romanist, to the command of the army. He hastened to fulfil his mission, and dismissed officers and soldiers, filling their places with Catholics, so that the people began to tremble for their properties, which the king would not secure to them.

Clarendon was soon after removed, and Tyrconnell made deputy. Fifteen hundred Protestant families embarked as emigrants at this time, dreading the dominion of Popery in Ireland, where outrages began to be daily committed, and were passed over by the Romanists. Confusion diminished trade. Even moderate Roman Catholics memorialled the king against Tyrconnell's government, which they said only consisted in dispossessing Protestants, and thus sinking the country in ruin. The king, however, was infatuated, and heaped injustice upon neglect.

At this time the majority of Protestants in England and Ireland turned their hopes on James's son-in-law, the Prince of Orange, as the great champion of Protestantism in Europe, and around him had already collected a number of officers ejected from the army by Tyrconnell. James was in the centre of treachery which he had merited by his imbecile weakness. Tyrconnell was the first to hear of Prince William's intended enterprise. He

was confounded, but spoke of it with contempt until the astounding intelligence arrived that the prince had landed in England, that the Protestants had joined him, and James was nearly deserted. Tyrconnell took immediate steps to raise troops, and prepare himself for an attack. Some time prior to this, an anonymous letter was sent to Lord Mount Alexander purporting that, on a certain day, there was to be a general massacre of the Protestants, which spread such terror through the country, that hundreds embarked for England. The northern Protestants, however, determined to stand and defend themselves against any attack, and having proclaimed William III. king, they determined to uphold the cause of civil and religious liberty.

Tyrconnell had withdrawn Lord Mountjoy's troops from Derry in his first alarm; but hearing that that well-fortified city had become the refuge of all the Protestants of Ulster, he determined to amend his error, and sent a troop of Catholics, lately formed under Lord Antrim, to Derry. Stopping at Limavady, about twelve miles from Derry, its magistrate went hastily to inform the inhabitants of Derry of the approach of an army. Thinking that they were the destined slaughterers, they shut and barred the city against them next day, and the disappointed troop was obliged to retreat. All the northern towns followed their example, and proclaimed William and Mary. Tyrone then sent back Mountjoy, whom they admitted, with two companies, all being Protestants; upon which,

Tyrconnell, being jealous, again recalled Mountjoy, and sent him to France, where he was put into the Bastille. Then the deputy sent General Hamilton against the Protestants in the north. Those of Cavan burned their houses and fled to Enniskillen, which Glanroy not being able to enter, he joined the main army against Derry. We may date this as the end of James's power, for William was at this time virtually King of England.

CHAPTER XVI.

FROM 1689 TO 1702.

WILLIAM AND MARY.

KING JAMES landed at Kinsale from France determined to make a last effort for his kingdom; but instead of conciliating his Protestant subjects, he seemed to have no feeling for them but hatred. He issued a proclamation on arriving in Dublin ordering all Protestants to leave the country, and determined to lead a large force against Derry in person. At the same time two English regiments arrived in Lough Foyle with orders to put themselves under the direction of the governor for the defence of the town; but the governor, not having provisions, could not permit the landing of the troops; but, on advising with the officers, he decided that the city was not tenable. James was on the point of with-

drawing when he received the agreeable intelligence that Derry was about to surrender ; he accordingly marched directly to its walls. The town was now completely surrounded, except on the water's edge. The inhabitants, enraged at seeing the regiments and provisions intended for their use departing, and their governors going to desert them, became distracted, and killed one of the governors, when a brave gentleman, named Murray, arrived to their assistance, and was received with loud acclamations, the governors deposed, and the Rev. George Walker and Major Baker were appointed governors. All that wished were permitted to depart ; the gates were shut ; the walls manned ; all that were capable armed ; and the guns fired upon the approaching army. James, finding them determined to oppose him, set out on his way back to Dublin after a few days.

It would be impossible to describe the bravery of the men of Derry during this memorable siege. Want and famine were endured, till General Rosen, wearied and annoyed by their resistance, said that if they did not give up by the 1st of July, all the Protestants in the neighbourhood should be driven to the walls and left to die there, which dreadful threat was put into execution. They were driven in crowds, men, women, and children, old and young, goaded by a rabid soldiery beneath the walls of the besieged town ; but they besought their brethren to defend the city, and leave them to their fate. The poor people were, however, released, and the garri-

son still held out until nearly famished by want. On the 30th of June, Walker preached a most impressive sermon to the emaciated heroes, when, rising from their knees, they saw the ships so long expected appearing on the lake; the reinforcements passed the fort without much damage, and after a bitter engagement with the besiegers, landed, to the great delight of the besieged, when, after one hundred and five days' siege, the besiegers departed.

On the 13th of August Duke Schomberg landed, and in the June following William landed. James's power was daily diminishing. William, hearing his army was on the Boyne, near Drogheda, marched his troops towards him, determined on an engagement. When William was reconnoitring the position of James's army from an opposite hill, some field-pieces were treacherously drawn out by the army, and, under cover of a hedge, fired at him on the moment when he mounted his horse; two soldiers were killed behind him, and another ball following wounded the prince on the shoulder. His followers crowding round him, the opposite camp imagined him killed, and the news was rapidly conveyed to Dublin, and then to Paris, where the hostile guns proclaimed the fancied victory. Notwithstanding his wound, the prince spent the remainder of the day in preparations for battle, inspecting in person every point of his army.

On the 1st of July the Battle of the Boyne was fought. James took no part in the battle, but remained on a hill surrounded by his followers.

William headed his army in person, mingling in the thickest of the fight, and encouraging the soldiers. The enemy was completely beaten, and James, seeing his army pursued, left the field, and rode to Dublin in great haste. Arriving there, he pettishly blamed his officers, who answered him bitterly, particularly the brave Sarsfield, who said, "Exchange kings, and we will fight the battle over again."

King William arrived soon after James had sailed for France, and returned thanks for his victory in St. Patrick's Church. He then sent a detachment against Athlone, and marched in person to Waterford. All the small towns on the route surrendered, and he entered Waterford in triumph. The general had not succeeded in taking Athlone, and, hearing of Sarsfield's approach, joined the royal army on its route to Limerick. They besieged that city; but General Sarsfield succeeded in baffling all his attempts to take the town, and after much loss, the king retired from before it; and giving the command of his army to Count Johns and General Ginkel, and leaving the civil government of Ireland in the hands of Lords Sydney and Coningsby, he embarked for England. On his arrival, the Duke of Marlborough was despatched to Cork with five thousand men, where he arrived on the 22nd of September. General Ginkel met him there, and the town surrendered, as also Kinsale. St. Ruth, a French officer, arrived at the same time to head James's army. On taking command, he determined, if

possible, to give the enemy battle, and placing his men on the heights of Kilcomnesden, near Aughrim, he assailed the English army, which arrived and attacked his forces on the 12th of July, at noon. All St. Ruth's endeavours would not overturn the British army. Seeing himself defeated on all sides, he headed a body of cavalry in person, and was about to attack the enemy's horse, when he was killed by a cannon shot. The command fell on Sarsfield; but the panic caused by the death of their general was spread through the troops, and they were entirely defeated. Ginkel then marched towards Limerick, first securing the surrender of Galway. The city was as determined as even in its first resistance, and after a long and troublesome siege, in which many skirmishes took place, the town was surrendered on the following terms:—that Roman Catholics should be left to the free exercise of their religion; that no person be deprived of their estates mentioned in the capitulation; and that all persons wishing to leave Ireland should be allowed to do so.

This ended the Irish war that had so great a share in establishing William on the throne of Britain, and totally excluding the Stuarts. A general tranquillity and quietness were felt over the whole country after this victory, insomuch that everyone was amazed. From north to south a traveller might have passed without molestation; one month before the whole island was in war. The people after this seemed to increase daily in

happiness ; they were well clothed and fed, and carried on an excellent mercantile traffic. William restored nearly all forfeited lands, General Ginkel being like him unprejudiced. Yet on his granting Ginkel some land in Ireland, the Parliament would not hear of it, although but for him the high Protestant party in the realm would have confiscated the estates of every Catholic in the country. It cannot be denied that Ireland derived incalculable benefit from her union with England ; and although much unhappiness and bloodshed have been waded through to come at the desired end, yet it is probable that ere long the interests of Ireland and England will be blended as one nation, and the petty disturbances arising from paltry grievances done away with.

On the 22nd of December, 1691, the chief officers of James's army embarked for France, and amongst them Sarsfield, the commander of James's army, went to seek his fortune in a strange country, when he might have remained in his own, a happy and respected man, and an ornament to society. On landing in France, those brave soldiers of fortune were formed into a corps celebrated for a century after, and called " the Irish brigade." William died by a fall from his horse on the 8th of March, 1702.

CHAPTER XVII.

FROM 1702 TO 1760.

ANNE—GEORGE I.—GEORGE II.

ANNE, second daughter of James II., ascended the throne on the death of William. The first Act passed in her reign was a law to enforce those passed in a Parliament called in 1695 by Lord Capel, enacting penalties against Roman Catholics in every way contrary to the Treaty of Limerick. It was alleged that the rising power of the Papists was detrimental to the interests of England, which, therefore, authorised the enactment of those laws called the "Penal code." They, however, failed of their object, and only served to inflame the minds of the opposing party, and proved most detrimental to the Protestants of Ireland. The Roman Catholics applied to the Parliament of England for redress, or at least the fulfilment of the Treaty of Limerick, but in vain. Their party, however, increasing, they were enabled to cause the Protestants much trouble, who were also neglected by England, who had promised them an incorporate union with England. This reign is perfectly devoid of matter of interest as regards Ireland. Anne died in 1714.

George, Elector of Hanover, succeeded Anne. The Irish people offered no opposition to his election. A rebellion broke out in England and Scot-

land, headed by the Earl of Mar, in support of the pretensions of James II.'s son to the crown of England ; but it was successfully put down. The Irish Parliament, as an evidence of their loyalty, offered a reward of £50,000 for the capture of the Old Pretender.

In 1724 an Act was passed empowering a man named Wood, there being a scarcity of copper money in Ireland, to coin halfpence and farthings to a very large amount. The country was very much alarmed, and opposed to the scheme, fearing that it might have the ruinous consequence of a similar Act passed in James II.'s reign, when large quantities of base coin were circulated. Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's, lived at this time, and wrote many witty and fierce pamphlets against it, under a fictitious name, which, joined with the violent opposition of all parties, succeeded in putting it down, which has since been considered to have been a great disadvantage to the country, and by no means likely at the time to have produced any disadvantageous consequences. The patent was revoked in the following year.

The Protestants applied to Parliament in this reign for an incorporate union with Britain, but were taken no notice of, and the old laws continued in force, to the great annoyance of the Romanists, who were every day condensing into a body, considering the whole Protestant population of Ireland as an enemy, and, making religious oppression the cloak for all civil grievances, became a stronger

and more determined body of enemies, seeking to avenge the injuries offered them by the Parliament of England on the unoffending Protestants of Ireland, who were themselves totally neglected by that Parliament, and, being the weaker party, in constant fear.

George II. ascended the throne in 1727, his father having died on his way to Hanover. In 1745 Lord Chesterfield was lord deputy of Ireland. His government was most beneficial to that country, and, during the Young Pretender's irruption in Scotland, Ireland, under his steady and wise administration, remained perfectly quiet. Many Acts were passed for the defence of the established religion, and for the suppression of Roman Catholics, in this administration, which, if it pleased one party, enraged the other, and proved detrimental, for that reason, to those whom it was said to favour. In 1746 Chesterfield left Ireland. Soon afterwards a violent contest ensued between England and the Irish Parliament, relative to the disposal of surplus revenues. The English insisted on the king's right to dispose of them, and the Irish Parliament declared the right to be theirs. The Government was at length successful ; but the commotion caused by the contest shook the whole island, and many expected it must have ended in a rebellion. It, however, was quieted down for a time.

In 1760 a French squadron, consisting of only a small armament, although three fleets had been fitted up for the purpose, invaded Ireland ; they

landed at Carrickfergus in February, and were commanded by General Thurot. Carrickfergus was defended by Jennings, a brave officer ; but not having ammunition, he was obliged to abandon the town and retire to the castle, where he and his people defended themselves for some time, but were at length obliged to surrender. An anecdote is related of a French officer, who, seeing a child in danger from their fire, laid down his musket, carried the infant to a place of safety, and then returned to his place. After some time, however, the French were obliged to embark, hearing that a large army was on the way against them. They were, however, met by an English fleet, and captured.

The country was in a disturbed state. Many Associations were formed ; some, calling themselves "Whiteboys," assembled, and, by the way of revenging the outrages of landlords, committed many depredations. They were bound together by an oath, wore a uniform dress, having a white frock outside their clothes, from which they received their appellation of "Whiteboys." Amongst other daring atrocities, those miscreants tied their victims on horses, saddled with the skins of hedgehogs, and drove them thus through the country. At other times they buried people in holes to the chin, put thorns all round them, and left them thus in the most excruciating agony, until nearly dead with cold and hunger. At length those turmoils arose to such a height, that the army had to be

sent out against them, and many of the ringleaders were taken and executed. George died in 1760, and was succeeded by George III.

CHAPTER XVIII.

FROM 1760 TO 1820.

GEORGE III.

Soon after the accession of George III., Ulster was disturbed by an insurrection of a party calling themselves "hearts of oak," from a piece of oak worn round the neck. They were mixed—Catholics and Protestants—and rose on account of being obliged to pay for repairing roads to private houses, whilst the rich were exempted from the tax. They did not, however, commit any outrages: they merely assembled in large bodies. Upon the law which they considered a grievance being repealed, they dispersed. About this period, the Irish petitioned Parliament for liberty of free trade into England, which being denied them, they formed into Associations all over the country, to prevent the purchase of British manufacture.

Ireland was at this time threatened by a French invasion, France having openly declared for America in her war with England. The country being almost defenceless, England was petitioned for troops,

which being unable to grant, to the astonishment of Europe, Ireland was able in a short time to produce a volunteer army of fifty thousand men, well equipped and disciplined, commanded by the Duke of Leinster. The French were thus deterred from their purposed invasion. At the ensuing session of Parliament, they received the thanks of the kingdom for their gallant exertions.

Lord North, Prime Minister of England, brought a Bill into Parliament for the freedom of Irish commerce, which was passed unanimously. The great strength of the Volunteers, however, caused the English Government some alarm, lest they might be employed in some manner disagreeable to the English interests; and the Earl of Buckingham was withdrawn in 1780 for his lenient government, and replaced by the Earl of Carlisle, who, however, found as much difficulty in putting down the volunteering system as his predecessor. They had now determined on gaining concessions from Government, which they thought their great strength should command. The principal things desired were free commerce and a free legislature. In order to consult on the measures likely to advance their views, they fixed a day for assembling, and Lord Charlemont, Flood, and Grattan, the eminent leaders of the Parliament, prepared resolutions for them, hoping thus to prevent any seditious expressions. On the 15th of February, 1782, they accordingly met (the assembly was composed of one hundred and forty-three delegates, chosen each by

their corps) at Dungannon—they were generally land proprietors—and passed twenty resolutions, relative to the rights and grievances of Ireland. Their resolutions were universally adopted; meetings took place, and the country seemed ready for a commotion, when a change in the ministry took place, and the Duke of Portland became deputy. He, in his first speech, assured them that Government intended removing the causes of their discontent, which being done, they appeared well satisfied, and a large sum of money was voted by Parliament to Mr. Henry Grattan for his exertions on the occasion.

In 1783 a peace was concluded between England and America : and the Volunteers, instead of laying down their arms (for which they had now no legitimate use), and being contented, declared that what was done was not sufficient, and that they should now have a reform in Parliament. They held a meeting at Belfast, declaring that they and the nation were dissatisfied with what had been done, and appointed delegates to meet in Dublin, where they determined to hold a Convention on the 10th of November, 1783.

They met on the day appointed, and Lord Charlemont, although he highly disapproved of their assembly, took the chair, hoping, by his authority, to prevent anything treasonable being passed. The Parliament of Ireland was still sitting, and Henry Flood, who was one of the delegates, proposed that they should go down to the House

with a petition, and, moreover, that the House should not adjourn until they should have divided on the Bill. His motion was unanimously agreed to, and a deputation went to the House of Parliament, where their Bill was thrown out. The Convention then broke up, having agreed to address the king declaring their loyalty, and petitioning against the state of Parliament.

Soon afterwards the Duke of Rutland was made deputy, who became very popular; but two Bills having again been thrown out in Parliament, many riots occurred, and a set of men, calling themselves "right boys," went about administering oaths, and doing many things highly unlawful, until they had to be put down by force. In 1787 the Duke of Rutland died from excessive conviviality, and was succeeded by the Marquis of Buckingham, who did not remain long in Ireland.

About this time, the French Revolution being in its zenith, the effects of it were felt much in Ireland. The disaffected hailed it as an example. The two chief questions agitated in Ireland were Parliamentary Reform and Catholic Emancipation. In 1791 an institution was formed in Dublin, under the appellation of "United Irishmen," consisting of Catholics and Protestants, they taking on admission an oath to forward the views of the association in every possible way; which views went far towards displacing the present Government, and instituting a Commonwealth. Accordingly, in 1792, a large army was raised, called "National Guards."

They appointed a day of muster in Dublin; but the Government, thinking it high time to interfere, issued a proclamation, forbidding any such meeting. Accordingly, it did not take place, and the Government, seeing the frightful effects of the French Revolution, determined to seize on the chief conspirators. Two of them, Hamilton Rowan and James Tandy, were, accordingly, seized and tried for heading the revolutionary movement. One was tried, and sentenced to pay a fine of £500 for a libel; and the other for treasonable communication with France. They were defended by Mr. Curran, the first lawyer of his time.

In 1795 Lord Fitzwilliam became deputy, but was soon recalled by the Government. Public discontent became worse than ever; violent speeches were made, and the United Irishmen turned into revolutionists. The midland counties were infested with them; in the north alone were 72,000 of their adherents. The Government, seeing their prodigious numbers, embodied an armed yeomanry, which, in six months, amounted to thirty-seven thousand men. About this time a French fleet appeared in Bantry Bay, but, being much damaged by a storm, again set sail for France. It is supposed that Wolfe Tone and Lord Edward Fitzgerald were the principal instigators of this invasion of the French, which was prevented by the elements, or much detriment might have accrued to the power of England in Ireland.

From the year 1790 until this time the country

had been in a constant state of disquiet. In 1798 the insurgents had organised a large body of men, and only awaited a fitting opportunity to break out. They marched, fully armed, about the country during the day, and went about at night compelling those possessed of arms and ammunition to give them up. The Government, finding conciliatory measures were of no avail, desired the soldiers to do everything in their power to put them down. In some instances these orders were abused, and many innocent persons suffered, whilst the guilty escaped. It is even supposed that numbers were thus induced to join the rebels. A plan of general insurrection had been arranged for the month of June, 1798; but many of the chief insurgents having been taken, they were obliged to put it off. They sent to France for aid; but they not being inclined to meddle again in the affairs of Ireland, and the movements of the Government giving them much alarm, they determined to make a desperate effort, and accordingly appointed a day for a military committee to determine the day and time when they should break out. By holding up the actions of the Government, the hatred of Protestants, and the great advantages to be acquired by a Commonwealth, they induced immense numbers to join them, many of whom merely did it for protection against the opposing party. The conspiracy was, however, nearly defeated in the following manner. A silk mercer, named Thomas Reynolds, having purchased an estate in Kildare,

was deemed a desirable ally, and induced by Lord Edward Fitzgerald and Oliver Bond, two of their chief leaders, to join them; but, becoming more fully aware of their plans, he felt alarmed at joining so desperate a body of men, was seized with compunction, and gave information to a magistrate. On the 12th of March, therefore, a day appointed for their meeting at Oliver Bond's house, several magistrates, and sergeants, in plain clothes, surrounded the house, and seized a great many of the principal conspirators, amongst whom were Oliver Bond, James M'Nevin, Arthur O'Connor, &c. Warrants were issued against Lord Edward Fitzgerald and others. About two months after this, Lord Edward was apprehended in the house of a man named Murphy, a feather merchant in Thomas Street, after a long search; and, on firing on his assailants, he received a pistol shot in the shoulder, of which he died. Henry and John Sheares were also apprehended. Quiet was maintained in the city; but in the country, on the day appointed for the insurrection, many outrages were committed, and several skirmishes took place, in which the rebels were defeated.

Hostilities had, however, commenced, and it was necessary to put down the rioters. A proclamation was issued declaring that any persons assisting in the insurrection should be punished according to martial law. The first town attacked by them was Carlow; but they were beaten with a loss of one hundred men; in the south-west they had like

success ; but in Wexford the standard of rebellion was hoisted by a priest named Murphy, around whom crowds flocked. At the head of seven thousand men, he gained possession of Enniscorthy, whose inhabitants fled to Wexford. The horrors of their retreat were dreadful ; every sort of cruelty was practised on the unfortunate fugitives, who were pursued into Wexford, and that town taken possession of. Every sort of violence was practised by the insurgents during this rebellion ; barns full of people were burned, particularly at Scullabogue, where they were treated with every refinement of barbarity. The insurgents in possession of Wexford were driven out by General Dundas, who happily arrived before they had time to burn the town, according to their intentions. A large body of them encamped on Vinegar Hill, where they remained for three weeks, committing all sorts of atrocities. Countless hapless Protestants were seized, and, after being tortured in various ways, put to death.

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